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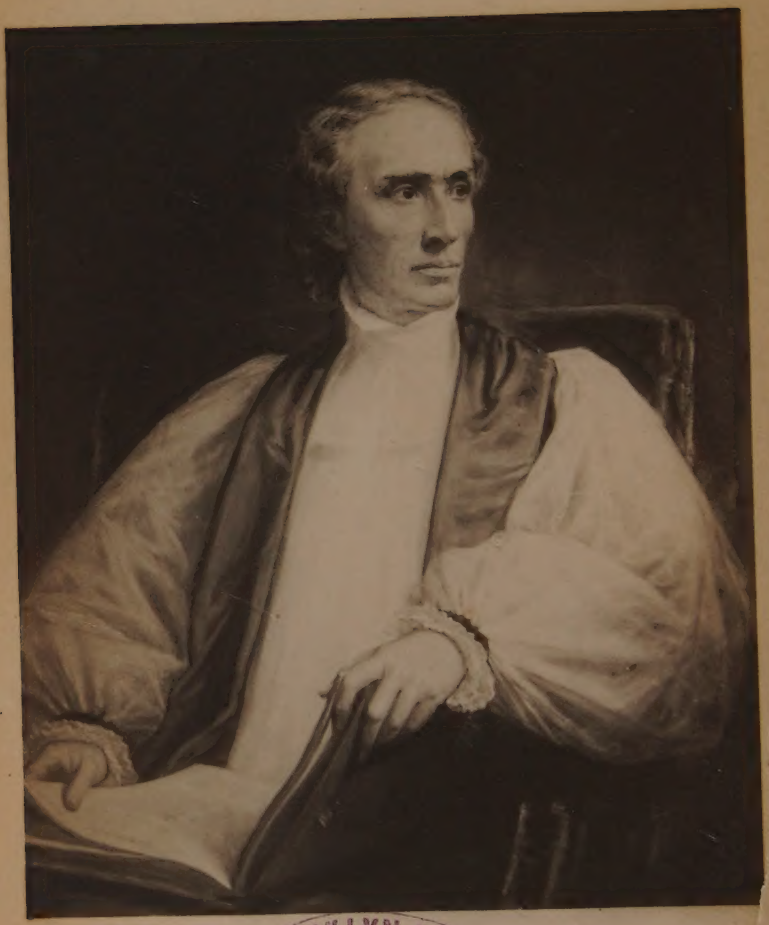
LIFE OF

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM.



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LIFE

OF

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM,

FOURTH BISHOP OF MARYLAND.

Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.

BY

WILLIAM FRANCIS BRAND.

WITH PORTRAIT AND FAC-SIMILES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

When Mrs. Whittingham and her children asked me to write the Life of the late Bishop of Maryland, I frankly confessed that the thought of connecting my name with that of one so loved and revered was a temptation to undertake what, I feared, I was not fitted for.

As a protection to them and to myself, I required that their selection of a biographer should be approved by certain friends of the family, and by others prominent in the Church. This approval was obtained; and what is at last finished was begun.

The length of time those interested have been kept waiting, is due in part to deficiencies recognized from the first; but not to these only. "If the iron be blunt, then must he put to more strength." Much labor has been spent to no purpose—no sign of which is seen. But the desire to be accurate, one attainable merit, has also cost much.

The reader is not troubled with references to what is out of reach, being chiefly manuscripts; but *nothing*, that is not evidently the expression of my own thoughts, has been written without the warrant of what would be received as trustworthy testimony could it be adduced. For all that is given to the reader, I am alone responsible. Yet it is well to say that Mrs. Whittingham and her daughters have read and

sanction every statement made that refers to the bishop. The chapter treating of the war, its causes, and consequences, as first written, did not receive their approval, and probably, as modified will not; but with great generosity, no restriction has been placed on the writer. All through their married life the bishop made his wife his confidante and counsellor. Therefore her attention has been called to every assertion likely to be doubted. When the memoir was nearly finished she said, "With the exception of the chapter on the war—and this I leave wholly to your judgment—there is not a word that I would have you change." For these words I am very grateful; they will not be echoed by any other reader. I am conscious that the result of my long labor of love cannot satisfy all—nor wholly any—of those who hold Bishop Whittingham in admiration from different reasons. With, perhaps, many others, I sincerely wish that the duty of giving a moral and mental portraiture of my bishop and friend had been entrusted to abler hands. But if another might have made much more of my much embracing subject, I have the satisfaction to know that I have, in all honesty, done my best as in the sight of God, and therefore have endeavored, above all things, to speak the truth without partisan bias, and without undue desire to magnify before men one so humble before God, as Wm. Rollinson Whittingham.

W. F. B.

FINDOWREY, MD., May, 1883.

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LIFE OF BISHOP WHITTINGHAM.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND EARLY YEARS.

1805–1822.

William Rollinson Whittingham was born December 2, 1805, in a cottage in the suburbs of New York, in that part of the city through which East Broadway now runs. This dwelling had been chosen by his parents when they began their married life because it stood in the midst of a large garden, alone—a fact which may be supposed to indicate already the principles of education on which their son was to be trained, and which affected his whole life.

His father and mother, born in England, were thoroughly English in all that marks the race, and gave to their son a strong attachment to everything that is English. His grandfather, Richard Whittingham, a Birmingham brass-founder, emigrated to America in 1791, bringing with him his wife, four sons, and two daughters. He landed at Philadelphia, then the seat of the United States Government, on September 22d. By some person interested in the matter it was urged on him to settle at Paterson, New Jersey, where it was proposed to establish a Society for the Encouragement of Useful Manufactures under the favor of the general Government. After consultation with Alex-

ander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, he did so. This society, whatever it may have been, could not have prospered, for after three years' experience, Mr. Whittingham removed his foundry to New York City. The business which he established was large for that date, and profitable. As they grew up he associated his four sons with him. Toward the close of his life he retired from business; visited his old home, and returning to New York, died there September 13, 1821. He was a man of strong sense; no mere artisan, but a man of reading and of extended information.

Richard, eldest child of Richard and Ann Davies Whittingham, was fifteen years old on the day they landed at Philadelphia. The father became naturalized as soon as practicable, but the son continued to be a British subject till he was an old man, notwithstanding the inconvenience of being thereby incapable of holding real estate, and the discomfort of being obliged, during the war with England, to report himself at stated times to the proper authorities, and to give bond that he would not aid or abet the enemy.*

Soon after his father retired the three younger sons also withdrew from the firm, and the eldest continued the business alone. He was well known for his work, and took not a little pride in its excellence. A conscientious man, he served God in his calling. Like his father, while thoroughly informed with regard to all that concerned his business, practical and scientific, his chief interests were outside of it.

Without having had the benefit of an academic training, he had been well taught as a boy, and he did much for himself. He read Latin readily and had some knowledge of Greek; was fond of science, a diligent reader of history,

* When he was very near the end of life—June 1, 1858—not sinking under any marked disease, but worn out, his elder son wrote of him: "He has been for months past dwelling on the scenes of his childhood and youth—talking of the singing of the birds, of the fragrance of the hawthorn, of the brilliancy of the green—telling how on such a day, at such a place, he enjoyed them, and saying there are no such birds, flowers, grass, or trees in this country!"

being especially well acquainted with the writers of the mediæval period; and besides he kept up with the literature of the day. Nothing but habits of order and great industry enabled him to be both an active man of business and no mean scholar. Besides caring for knowledge he had a love for books as books. This fondness made him a catalogue-reader and an attendant on book sales. The Library of the General Theological Seminary was often benefited by his knowledge of books and his watch over the book market. By those who knew him personally he is represented as having been a man of calm judgment, quiet demeanor, reticent, shrinking from needless intercourse with others, yet sympathizing and generous to such an extent as to hinder the accumulation of riches.

January 4, 1805, Mr. Whittingham married Mary Ann, eldest child of William Rollinson. Mr. Rollinson was an engraver of seals and of silversmiths' work. Being a man of cultured taste and of great ingenuity, he had made for himself a place among the early artists of this country. He was among the first of the engravers of bank-notes, making use of mechanical aids of his own invention. Without having ever seen an engraver for the press at work, he undertook an illustration of the Bible and the engraving of some portraits, notably one of Alexander Hamilton, which was executed not long after the fatal duel at Hoboken, and which was at the time much admired. In 1789 he came from England to America. After having spent a twelve-month in the United States, he was so well pleased with the country that he went back to Birmingham for his wife and child, and on his return made his home in New York.

In his "History of the Arts of Design," Dunlap says that Rollinson was brought up to the business of chaser of fancy buttons, and that he came to America with a view to their manufacture, but finding that such buttons were not worn here he turned his hand to silversmiths' work. A chaser of buttons he was, but Dunlap is not wholly correct in his

statement.* Rollinson was brought up to no business of any kind. He received a liberal education, and lived as the son of a rich man till his father was ruined through misplaced confidence; then, with the cheerfulness of his temperament, he turned accomplishments to the means of gaining a livelihood. He was not poor when he came here and he always lived in easy circumstances.

Mr. Rollinson was an attached member of the Church of England, but—an easy-going, bright, and jovial man—his views of religion did not interfere with his enjoyment of this life, and he had little sympathy with those whom he counted rigidly righteous.

His eldest child—to whom, besides a good English education, he had given the accomplishments of more than one modern language, with music and drawing and painting—was of a different bent. A stern sense of duty as a constraining principle rested on all her mature life, and a foreshadow of it was cast on her girlhood. When so young as to have a child's eagerness for Christmas gifts, the thought, "I must die," would spoil all her comfort. So she wrote when commenting on a letter of a little granddaughter telling of her Christmas gifts.

"I well remember thinking," she continued, "what a pity it is that people must die. But as I found that die they must, I was very glad of every opportunity to go to prayers with one or two old women, our neighbors, who took notice of me as a pretty, fresh-looking English girl. If these serious feelings had been encouraged instead of stifled, how many sorrowful repentings might have been spared me."

It was not long before "these serious feelings" of her childhood were deepened by some unrecorded "singular providence." Her opinions and her sentiments ripened

* Mr. Rollinson was engaged to grave the arms of the United States on a set of silver-gilt buttons to be presented to President Washington, to be worn by him on some marked occasion. For this work he would take no pay.

early. She developed into a woman of strongly marked character, with a clear and positive judgment, a strong will, and great tenacity of purpose. Early formed habits of order and perseverance strengthened unusual intellectual powers. Being what she was by nature and training, what she thought out for herself, or learned readily, she readily imparted; fluent in speech, and, as well, a rapid writer, she was fitted to entertain or to influence others; and of this she was fond. She lived by rule, held herself to a strict account, and was not too indulgent to others weaker than herself. Her feelings were strong and easily excited. Her love was like all else that marked her. Especially toward her first-born it was intense. As she gave him her whole heart, so she claimed his whole heart in return. So long as she lived she claimed him as belonging to her *first;* husband or father he might be, but he was first her son. And certainly, if ever mother did, she had bought this claim. Yet even for this son her love was not weak. She loved him as Seneca says the Divine Father loves his chosen ones, "in verity and with severity"—*Deus amat suos vere et severe.* With this male character she was yet womanly. She was devoted to her housekeeping; ready to engage in anything interesting to other women, if not, in her eyes, a betrayal of religious consistency. She was skilled in music, fond of poetry, and often engaged in verse-writing.

When, on her twentieth birthday, she entered on married life, it was with no thought of a holiday voyage, but with a definite and solemn end before her, of which she never lost sight. Her pole-star was, "I must serve God in all that comes to me in this life." Never did any one feel more the solemnity which belongs to the thought of having given life to another. But before this responsibility rested on her she had weighed it. Writing of the time when she was still in her father's house, she says: "The one wish of my heart was to serve God myself, and to train up my family in his fear, and keep them unspotted from evil ex-

ample." And again, when the Bishop of Maryland, officiating in the Diocese of New York, ordained his brother Richard priest, she wrote:

> It is a singular combination of circumstances which has made it your office to give your brother orders—of course most gratifying to me. I regard it as a public manifestation that my God has been pleased to accept the gift, which I most solemnly dedicated to him, even from their birth, of my two sons; the elder, yourself, in gratitude to God, who by a singular providence caused me to be awakened from a state of complete worldliness and ignorance of anything like true religion to a love of him and an ardent desire to devote myself to his service. As the condition in life which Providence allotted me prevented me from personal service in any mission, I determined that, whenever I could have a family that I could regulate, I and my house should serve the Lord; and, as I could not myself preach of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus toward poor lost sinners, if ever I had a son I would lend him unto the Lord, even as Hannah did Samuel; and my faith was always unwavering that God would accept my offering and clear my way before me, and give my child a capacity to learn and a willingness to learn, and that he would fulfil his promise, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

The Greek mother boasted, We give birth to men! This mother did more than impart her nature. She determined that she, and she alone, should cultivate the nature of her children, and to this end devoted her whole time. Not even would she have a nurse for them in their earliest days. To a friend who asked how she managed to get through her duties and find time to educate her children, and yet have no nurse to care for the younger ones, she answered that she kept no nurse on principle; that she thought that children imbibe tastes, habits, and even principles for life from those with whom they are associated, even in infancy, and she wished to form her children's minds and morals herself. To this end she taught her children to help her in whatever she might be doing, and then she stud-

ied with them. There existed among them all a community of interests—of work and study and recreation.

God having answered her prayers and given her a son who proved to be capable of learning and willing to learn, she began her instruction almost from his very birth, first carrying him to Trinity Church, where he was baptized by Bishop Moore. Having thus given him to the Lord, she thought that being Christ's soldier he was to be at once trained to fight under his banner. There was no waiting for the development of reason, under which plea so many parents suffer habits of evil to grow unchecked. For the dawn of reason, however, this parent would not have been kept long waiting, as an incident related by the bishop will show. To a friend who was at the time feeding a pet parrot he once said: "Fond as I am of all other creatures I confess a strong aversion to a parrot. The cause is this. When I was a little one I was taken to my grandfather's and there shown a bright parrot in a cage. While I was looking at him the bird suddenly screamed, and I screamed too in fright; whereon the talker cried out, 'Nasty little puppy-dog! turn him out! turn him out!' an expression of disgust of course not first uttered against me, as I then supposed, but that was copied from my grandmother, who had frequent cause of complaint against my grandfather's dog pets." Now this parrot died when the child was about a year old. Before children in general have learned to articulate he understood the force of words. Of course it is possible that he remembered only what he had afterward heard related, but his repugnance to his insulter was based on the impression made by the insult given; and an incident to be related later seems to confirm his assertion that the remembrance was his own, not that of others.

The precocious child was doubtless forced, and to that extent that it is a surprise not that he was always a nervous man fitted for suffering, but that he lived to be a man of intellect.

Learning from an eager mother may have been as play; but in his infancy there could have been little of childish play that had no purpose other than the finding vent for a child's gladness—certainly no play with other children unwatched. When a man, he could not recall the time when he could not read. This is true also of not a few. But he could not remember the time when he began to learn French, or Latin, or Greek, probably not when he could not write. There is something painful in looking at the proofs of this no-infancy. He must himself have been pained by a consciousness of some loss. To his youngest child, his Benjamin, a bright boy who yet had no special fondness for study, he one day said: "Ah, Harry! what would not I give to have had the training you have!" In educating his own children he attempted no forcing whatever, was not anxious that their minds should develop early, but suffered them while children to be as children, and was glad that they should enjoy themselves as such.

It has been said that he could scarcely have remembered the beginning to write. Having been treasured by the proud mother, there remain scraps of the writing of his babyhood. Here is a copy of a little letter * endorsed by Mrs. Whittingham, "Written by William when 2 years and 5 mos. old:"

MY DEAR FATHER

I have seen the brickmakers make their bricks with clay Mary Ann is cross and will not drink the milk-punch. will you not come papa, and see me? I saw the Sloop W Washington. and I have seen Mount Murry [this word is not clearly written] down we ran the mount and up I crept the mountain. we saw the river on the mountain. my dear papa I saw the men a cutting the stones Good bye

W R WHITTINGHAM

This is written between lines evidently of his own draw-

* On pages 24–26 will be found a facsimile copy of this letter; the text somewhat reduced, the address an exact copy.

ing, in a large round hand (would that he had continued to write as distinctly !), in pencil ; the address, "Richard Whittingham, Brass Founder, New York," is with pen and ink. The copy is *literatim et punctatim.*

Other letters are preserved which were written during the succeeding summer. They are in a smaller hand. One is on single lines and is dated by himself in full.

AUGUST 2D SPARTA 1809

DEAR FATHER

It has been very rainy ever since I wrote to you last and mother has had the sick head ache all the while. I mean to send you a view of Mr Rhodes house. We had a very small walk up and down the road the weather not permitting us to go any farther. The day before yesterday the packet came in the dock to get water. Monday as Uncle Charles went down we waved our handkerchiefs to him and he waved his back again. We have found a new path leading from one plain to another then to the Beer house and so home. Your affectionate son WILLIAM.

These letters of 1809, when he was three and a half years old, are written with pencil, which he discarded the next year. To 1809, also written on single lines, belongs a piteous confession of fault, and a petition which betokens discipline.

SPARTA June

DEAR MOTHER

I'm very sorry for what I did this morning and I will be very good & will never do so any more. Nor stop any more. Your humble prisoner W. R. W.

N. Benae. I beg your pardon.

Below is pictured a suppliant on his knees with clasped hands upraised, and a legend, or scroll for one, issuing from his mouth. Where the figure of stern justice may have stood the paper is worn. Among these mementoes of childhood is another sketch, evidently belonging to a later date, which represents a table laden with viands, behind which, on a classic seat, rests a figure which may well pass for a Roman mother, and before which, with outspread arms,

kneels on one knee a hungry penitent. An inscription is neatly printed in small capitals above and below the device. This time the petition is in boy-French. "Je me repent de ma faute. Ai du compassion. Je te prie a me donner ma diner."

One of the pencil letters from Sparta, which begins, "Dear Father, I was so impatient to hear from you that I thought every day a year till this morning," contains the statement, "My pillar is as much as three foot high." This pillar was of stones; he added to it until it was more than six feet high. When nearly fifty years old the bishop made a pilgrimage to the spot and found the structure still standing, and still called "William's pillar," although those who so called it did not know whose name it bore.

Sparta was a village below Sing Sing where Mr. Rollinson had a dwelling, and where his daughter spent the summers of a dozen years after her son's birth. It has now lost separate existence and name. Here the beauty of the distant scenery—the broad river flowing in front and the high hills rising behind—must have tended to develop in the child the love of nature which gave so much of pleasure in after-life. Strength too must have been gained to bear up under the burden of constant work of the mind.

These yearly absences from the city account for the dates of the child's letters, a year apart. The spelling of these letters show that from the beginning English, at least, must have been taught him exactly, very probably in the way the mother had learned—no royal way. French and Latin and Greek, as has been said, were all entered on at an age when other children are in the nursery playing with alphabet blocks. These languages were taught by the mother, who had prepared herself for the task. One of her daughters writes:

In order to improve her accent in French Mrs. Whittingham took lessons in that language from James Hamilton, who was holding classes in the oral system. Her ready wit arrived independently

at the conclusion of John Locke, who had himself improved on the views of Ascham and Milton. "Why not apply this system to the classic tongues?" she asked. "Madam, you are right!" exclaimed the impulsive preceptor, excitedly striking his forehead with the open palm of his hand, and forthwith he proceeded to an application of the interlinear system and *viva voce* dictation as well to the classical as to modern languages.

Hamilton was an English merchant of literary taste who, having gone to Germany and there taught himself German, became an enthusiast on education. His plan, with modifications and under different names, has been popular in the teaching languages. It is enough to say of it that it is the very opposite to the mode of former generations, when into the hands of a hapless schoolboy was placed, at the very beginning of his classical studies, a Latin grammar written in Latin that he might learn the rules which govern the structure of the language, without even knowing the meaning of the words which he was to recite.

From Hamilton Mrs. Whittingham took lessons in Latin and Greek, and he made all easy. His path to the hill of the Muses was a flowery one with easy grades. The dead languages were to be learned as one learns his mother-tongue—picking up the meaning of words and framing them into sentences through imitation, without knowing that there is such a thing as the science of language. Under this system, guided by his mother, William rapidly acquired ease in reading.

If the end be simply to understand the purport of writings in dead or foreign languages, his training was successful. But his after-judgment did not approve what in so far had been with him a success. When his brother, much younger than himself, came to be taught Latin, he sent to his mother a certain grammar, saying that it contained "all that is good in the Hamiltonian system." His daily record of studies shows that in 1828 he thoroughly studied Latin prosody, and that at an earlier day, when in the seminary, he applied

himself for a time, day after day, to the study of his Latin grammar and to a critical reading of Virgil, which, probably, he then read as fluently as if written in English; certainly he then wrote Latin fluently, as his letters to his fellow-students who had left the seminary show. In these he sometimes breaks off from English, and for the sake of the exercise continues to express his thoughts in Latin, evidently, and, as he says, *currente calamo*, but he also adds, *an sit Latine nescio*, as if conscious of the lack of what is acquired by drill.

It is not meant that accuracy had ever been considered a matter of indifference. The following incident is a token to the contrary, although he was not taught after the mode of classical schools. Mr. Rollinson was fond of having his grandson with him, and one can readily understand how a man such as he was would take delight in the companionship of his child possessed of so bright and active a mind. When William was yet a boy—the exact period is not known—he was with Mr. Rollinson, who was at work on a seal for Columbia College. Besides a Latin sentence the inscription contains a few Greek words. The Greek which was to be copied William pronounced to be incorrect; and such was the grandfather's confidence in the boy's accuracy that, without reference to the president who had employed him, he ventured to make the suggested correction. When the finished seal was taken home the learned man was naturally indignant at the liberty taken. But obliged to admit that he had made an error, which if it had been followed would have condemned the seal, he inquired, "Who is your grandson? In what college has he studied?" And having heard that he was a boy wholly educated by his mother, the president insisted on his being brought to him, adding with good nature, "I want to see the boy who can correct my Greek." The grandfather did introduce him, and was proud enough when the boy was invited to a seat on the platform at the next college commencement.

It was from Columbia College that Whittingham received his degree of Master of Arts in 1827—which, indeed, he had then fairly earned, although he had never heard a college lecture—and also that of Doctor of Divinity in 1835.*

Latin and Greek are not enough for one thoroughly furnished as a minister in the Church. William's mother therefore undertook to prepare herself to teach him the language of the older Scriptures. She had not made much progress when the boy joined her in her studies. He was then between eight and ten. They were aided by her brother, Mr. Charles Rollinson. Among the papers left by the bishop is a full paradigm of a Hebrew verb made by Mr. Rollinson for this purpose, written with the smoothness and accuracy of the best type, and in differently colored inks to mark stem and inflections. The mother and son worked together with good results. She became so good a Hebraist as to be a teacher to students in theology, and he so familiar with his Hebrew Bible that during a great part of his life it was his habit to read before breakfast the Psalms for the day in the original. There are, owned by the family, several copies of the Psalter that were worn out in this use.

When Richard, Mrs. Whittingham's youngest child, whom she had likewise devoted to the sacred calling, came of age to begin the study of the sacred languages—that is, when he could first articulate†—the mother in Israel rejoiced in being then able to convey her knowledge of Hebrew by the Hamiltonian method, to which experience

---

* St. John's College, Annapolis, Md., gave him his LL.D. He was grateful for his first degree, A.M., but cared nothing whatever for his higher titles, although always careful to add the dignifying initials to the name of every one who could claim them. When in England he was invited to Oxford to receive the degree of D.C.L. at the time when the honor was conferred on Dr. DeLancey, but he modestly declined it; he had done, as he said, "Nothing to deserve the distinction." His diary makes no reference to this invitation.

† He learned the Hebrew and the English alphabets together.

had but made her the more devoted, and in the use of which she had gone beyond her instructor. This fact in itself shows how great must have been her familiarity with the tongue.*

Languages were not William's only studies with his mother. With her he studied music and drawing, although in drawing he also took lessons from the elder Mr. Rollinson.

Books on all subjects he devoured. He delighted in physics, and especially in botany and geology—studies which added greatly to the enjoyment of the long walks he was in the habit of taking when he grew older. All his life they afforded pleasure. He never returned from a visitation when he was bishop without having something to tell about the natural things he had observed while away. On one occasion during a visitation he spoke to his host for the time of the beautiful avenue of pine trees which led to the dwelling, and of his having been surprised by the number of varieties found in the same locality. "Yes," remarked the gentleman with pleasure, "there are about—— different kinds." The bishop corrected him, asserting that there were more, and saying how many more. "Our host" —to use the words of one present,† from whom the relation comes—"our host remarked, 'You are mistaken, Bishop; I have studied these woods for years, have taken great pains with that avenue of trees, and I never saw but——varieties.' The bishop, with that impulsive energy so characteristic of him at that time, rose from his seat, and taking hold of the

* In a presentation copy of Hebrew charts by the Rev. Wm. N. Irish, M.A., was found a letter from the author, endorsed "Received February 15, 1871," that is in part as follows: "My Dear Bishop—Over twenty years ago, on one of the Hudson River steamboats, I saw a lady who was pointed out to me as your mother. She was reading a Hebrew Bible, and I saw, quite accidentally, that it was the Calendar Lesson for the day of the month. Though but recently a graduate, I was resolved that I would not allow my Hebrew and Greek to slip from me, and I adopted the same plan, which I have since followed with but few interruptions."

† The Rev. Dr. Lewin.

arm of his host, said: 'Now let us walk out, and I will show you.' I followed, and, to the surprise of our host and my astonishment, he pointed out shades of difference noticed by him while slowly driving along the avenue for the first time, which the owner for more than a quarter of a century had overlooked. When alone I asked him how he managed to observe those varieties when apparently not taking any special notice. He answered, 'My mother always told me that God had given me eyes to see with and observe.'"

His was the quick observation which accompanies a love of nature, and with him interest in anything always implied accurate knowledge. Among the papers belonging to his boyhood was found a descriptive catalogue of his minerals containing colored drawings of specimens of each, which by their beauty of execution surprised one who, during a long and intimate acquaintance, never learned that he could draw at all.

A mother so jealous of influence over her children as to fear a nurse for her infant could not but have carefully guarded her dear first-born from the possible bad influence of other children. But while "segregated," as he himself in after-days might have said, William was yet a happy child. His warm affections found vent in loving the inmates of his home, and in the fond care of pet animals—of anything excepting a parrot. He showed great kindness to his dependents, and, as is natural, acquired great control over them. He used to tell a marvellous story of one resisting pet of his boyhood—a hen who would not sit where he had arranged a nest for her, but would remove her eggs to another corner of the cellar. He watched, and discovered her *modus operandi*. But the story cannot be repeated lest he or the relator lose credit with some sceptical reader. It is enough to venture on another, which belongs to a later date.

When William was about fourteen, Sparta seems to have been given up and a summer refuge found on Long Island,

in a country box belonging to Mr. Rollinson on what is now known as Glen Cove but was then called—ominous name—Mosquito Cove. Here Mrs. Whittingham and her children were during the summer of 1822, when the city was scourged with yellow fever. When the time for one of these summer migrations had come William packed up his other treasures, which were books chiefly, and took with him, also, his cat. The summer passed, and everything was ready for the return to the city home; but before locking up the house William had to be waited for, and he was hunting for his cat. It could be found nowhere. At last, with a heavy heart, the search was given up, and with it hope of ever seeing her again. But lo! six weeks after, being in his own room, which had a window opening on the roof of a porch easily reached by animals who make roofs in general their promenade, William heard an eager scratching; up flew the sash, and into his very arms sprang a meagre, forlorn, superlatively affectionate representative of the once sleek lamented lost friend. Where had she been? What had brought her back? How did she cross the waters which separate the cove and the city? She could not answer, and none else ever knew; she could only give proof that here she was. If she had been a dog, or a 'tantony pig, symbol of fidelity, there would be less of wonder in this obedience to the call of friendship. But a cat! Loving friendship had, however, endured through years of unvaried kindness, and had begun under circumstances which ought to have enforced gratitude. One day in his early boyhood William terrified his mother by coming in from the street with face, hands, and clothes stained with blood. "Oh, my son, my son, what is it?" asked the mother in dismay. "I've got it! It's a kitten the boys were stoning up a tree. I climbed the tree and got it down; and they stoned me too. Never mind the blood. It's safe!"

Unwitting the misnomer he called his saved kitten after Leo the Magnificent. Leo became the cherished pet of the

family. She lived to extreme old age, and was quite an ideal cat. Never a kitten was added to the cat world by Leo. She knew too well the nature of boys in general to risk the miseries of life for her progeny. Doubtless she thought there was but one William in the world.

All of William's friends were not of the mute creation. He had some companions of his own age, carefully scrutinized boys of the neighborhood. One who became in time a Roman Catholic bishop and is now—if there be not a mistake as to who the future bishop was—Cardinal McCloskey. Another playmate, Richard Bourke, under a fictitious name, is told about by Mrs. Whittingham in the "Children's Magazine" because of the brave part he took in what was near being the end of all the mother's proud hopes. One summer afternoon, after a violent storm had swept over the island, this companion asked of Mrs. Whittingham that her son, then about twelve years old, might be allowed to go out with him for a walk. Leave being granted, for "nothing was done without her knowledge and consent," the boys went off for a happy tramp in the country. They had not far to go to reach the open fields, for these lay but a little way beyond Canal Street, through which then flowed a stream spanned by wooden bridges where the roads crossed it. They roamed about gathering plants for pressing and filling their pockets with curious pebbles and stones to be added to their cabinet. So engaged they came to a tree uprooted by the storm. In the hole from which it had been torn lay a precious object, a rock showing fossil shells and plants. With no little labor specimens were knocked off, and, there being no other place to put them, were stowed away in their caps. The tree lay not far from the Hudson.*

As the day was near its close, the boys went to the bank of the river to enjoy the prospect and see the sun go down

* An annotation is made by one of the bishop's kindred: "Inaccurate. This occurred on the East River, off Rutgers' grounds. The specimens were conglomerate."

beyond the hills on the opposite side. William went to the very brink. Here he had often before stood in safety; but now the treacherous bank gave way, having been undermined by the dashing waves caused by the late storm, and suddenly he sank into the water beneath. His companion from safer ground saw him disappear. Happily this boy was both brave and could swim. He tore off his jacket and shoes and stood watching for his friend to rise; seeing him he sprang in, but before he could reach him the helpless boy, who could not swim, sank again. As William rose a second time he was heard to say, "Lord, have mercy on me!" and before he could sink the conventional third time he was seized by the collar. To lay hold on the helper was natural; to do as he did, obey at once the order given him, showed more than a boy's self-control. "Let go my arms," said the friend; "do not be afraid—I will try to save you. I will not leave you. But if you do not let go your hold we shall both certainly drown." Despite courage, drowned they both certainly would have been but for providential deliverance. Bourke's strength was giving out when help came. A vessel lay at anchor off the spot where the bank had given way, on board of which was a man who, by what we call chance, was looking at the boy as he fell. In a moment he was in a boat rowing rapidly to the rescue. As he approached he cried out to the boys, "Be of good heart! I'll save you!" He drew them into his boat and landed them in safety. It was some time before William could recover strength to walk home, but the result was only a ducking, and probably the loss of his cap and precious geological specimens. Not the only result, for this narrow escape from death deepened religious impressions which were never lessened. The bishop often related to his children the particulars of his adventure when a boy: especially he told how, when death seemed certain, all the events of his short life rose up before him, and he heard, among other child's remembrances, the parrot scream at him, "Nasty little puppy

dog! turn him out!" With increasing gravity he would close his story, saying, "I think I know something of what will occur on the day of judgment; for in a moment I lived again all my life."

Not unfrequently persons who have been brought back to life after seeming death by drowning have had the same experience to tell of; and it has been thought to be a phenomenon belonging to drowning. But the same instantaneous revival of all past impressions, in the case of a friend of the writer, was the result of a vivid sense of the nearness of death brought about by other circumstances. He was on a bridge; a train of cars came upon it and rapidly approached; there was no room to stand aside, and it would have been certain death to leap from the bridge. He threw himself on his face, and the train passed over him. While he was thus lying in the seeming embrace of death, the present was forgotten in the sudden consciousness of all the past. It may be noted also that in William's case there was no insensibility from drowning; only a seeming nearness to death.

Another person outside of his own family to whom William in his boyhood was attached, and continued to be so till her death, was Mrs. Melmuth, once an actress of some note, who had become a Roman Catholic and very devout, and, perhaps, had therefore left the stage. She used to give him friendly lessons in elocution, which, however, did not save him from other friendly criticisms when he entered the pulpit. Hers was the rule which the bishop often impressed on his younger clergy, "Pronounce your consonants distinctly; the vowels will take care of themselves." The prejudice which he early received, and always felt, against all theatrical exhibitions was in part due to her teachings. When he asked her what she thought the influence of the theatre to be, she answered, "Bad, very bad. There are people who may go to see a good play and be benefited; and there are among actors those whose lives are as pure

and devout as are those of men and women in any other walk in life; but take my advice, given to all young men—do not begin theatre-going."

William was never of a robust frame, but yet he was capable of enduring fatigue, especially fatigue in walking. Long walks were the chief relaxation of the half-grown lad, and these must have been, for the most part, solitary, for he acquired the habit of reading as he walked. On one occasion during an all-day tramp, taken while he was yet a lad, he read all of Hercules Furens, and yet without failing to observe closely the scenes through which he was passing, for of these his note-book contains a description.

The Enchiridion was often a hand-book literally. During a jaunt of several days, while at the seminary, he read nearly all the New Testament Epistles in Greek; and his occupation while walking from his father's house to the Seminary during the first winter of his course, was the learning by heart the Odes of Horace. Walking was not the least hindrance to reading—if his swinging long strides at a double-quick rate could be called walking.

His habit of rapid writing, and upon every matter where most men would be content to think, was greatly due to the requirements of his mother. She exacted of him continually written exercises; even the little petitions of a child she made him present on paper. The result is abstracts, compendiums, analyses, commonplace and note-books without end.

In connection with his boyhood it remains only to speak of the bishop's early religious education.

She who was his guide had always before her the precept with a promise, "Train up a child in the way he should go." Her own religious views taught her to fear the world; that God's people must be separate. She led her children in the narrow way in which she herself walked. One can readily imagine the Bible-reading and hymn-learning and reverential observances with which the child and boy

must have been familiar. His formal training was altogether in the Church, based on the Catechism. When he was ten years old he offered himself for confirmation. The rector considered him too young, and declined to present him; but he went to the bishop, who himself examined him and gladly gave the blessing intelligently and humbly sought. From that time forward Bishop Hobart and his neophyte were fast friends, confidence in each other growing as years passed. So soon as confirmed he became a communicant.

While his training was wholly in the Church, it is possible that his emotional nature was in early childhood also influenced by the Methodist society meetings to which he was taken by his grandmother Whittingham, his mother accompanying, for between the grandmother and mother there was much of sympathy. How young he was is marked by an accident which happened on an occasion when the party were a little late. Being hurriedly lifted over a gutter by the arm his shoulder was slipped. At his grandfather's house he found all the earlier Methodist books. Asserting his right to speak positively of Methodism, he once said that before he was eleven years old he had read all that Wesley published and all the many volumes of the "Arminian Magazine," and that probably there was no one then in the land—about fifteen years before his death—so familiar with Methodist literature.

How soon he definitely contemplated taking orders is not known. Probably there never was a time when he had not consented to the dedication made by his mother. A letter written when about fifteen speaks of his fixed purpose and his plans for securing a theological education in case there should be no seminary in the city. He was at this date anxiously expecting the decision of the Church authorities respecting the location of the General Theological Seminary. Not very many months after he was happily established as a student in this institution, with which he was

ever after so much associated, and in which he was to hold so honored a position.

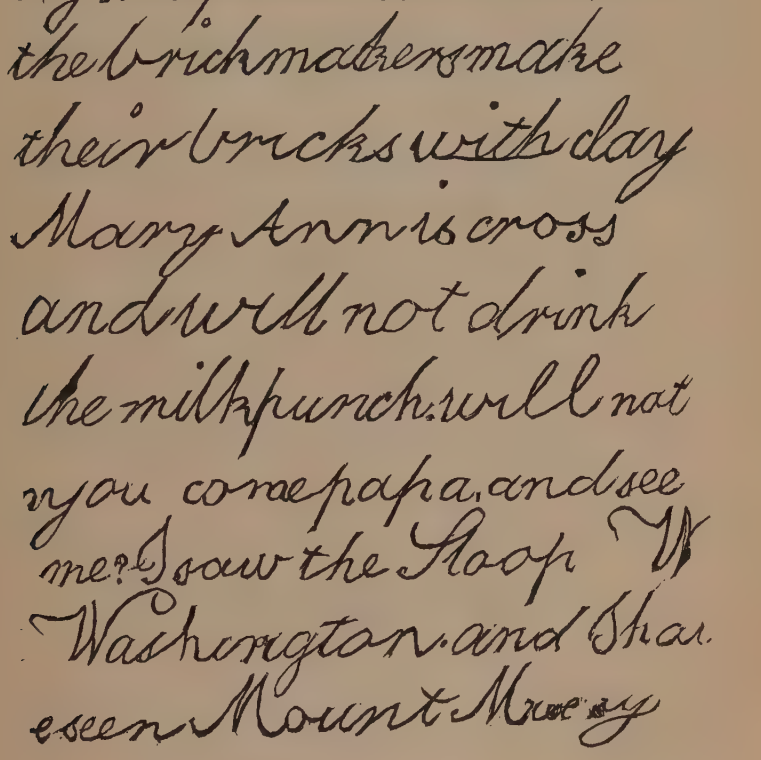
The name Whittingham appears among those of the landed gentry in several counties in England. The bishop was a descendant from a Shropshire family. In the year 1714 "Thomas Whittingham of Drayton, in the county of Salop, being aged and infirm," made his will, which was proved in the year following by Isabella, his widow and executrix. The testator left sundry estates to his wife during her life, with a remainder to his son John; the land being charged with the payment of bequests to other children. This son John died about the time of his father's death, leaving an infant son who, being in some way deprived of his rightful inheritance, lived and died in an humble position, and left several children to open their own way in life. The second of these was Richard, the emigrant, who died in New York in 1821. An older brother, John, died childless. In 1840 Richard, the father of the bishop, received from England a statement of the rights that had descended to him as the oldest representative of his grandfather, and a proposal that he should seek to obtain them by legal process. The proposal was discussed in the family, but Mr. Whittingham, who, as he writes, had always known his descent from Thomas Whittingham of Drayton, could not be moved to test his claims. Too long a time had elapsed, and besides he had never cared for wealth, and in his old age it presented still fewer attractions.

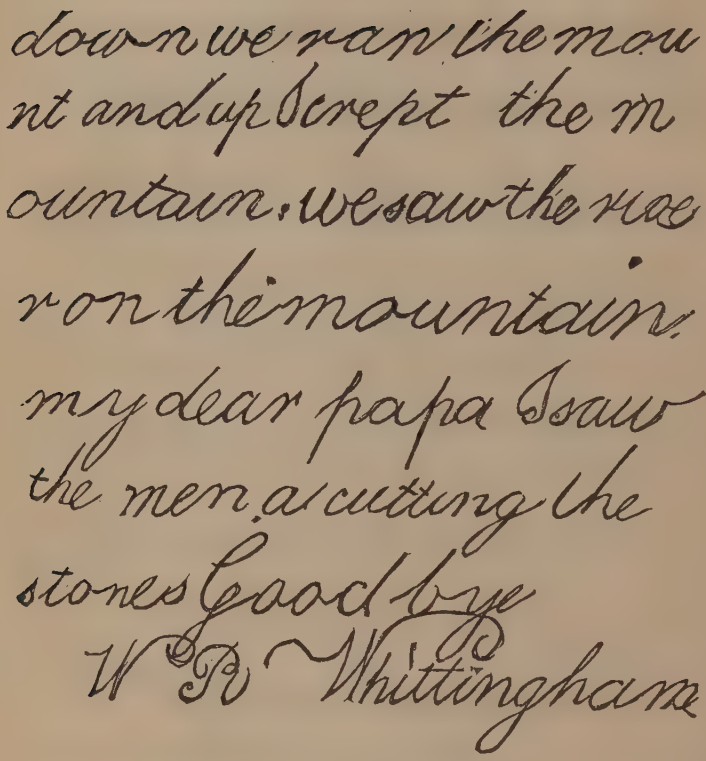
The bishop's judgment coincided with that of his father. But while thinking it best not to enter upon a doubtful contest for an estate in England, he was very glad to "have family reminiscences connected with spots of that happy island remote from the heat and smoke of Birmingham." During his visits to England he gathered all the particulars he could with regard to the history of all of his name. He

had reason to think himself connected with William Whittingham, the Puritan Dean of Durham, and when at the cathedral inquired for traditions of him, but only learned what was not calculated to increase a desire to prove kindred. "Oh!" it was said, "he was the dean who paved his kitchen with the tombstones!"

In Alden's "Epitaphs," under the notice of Mrs. Martha Rogers, may be found a curious history of this dean of doubtful orders, there spoken of as "the first Congregational minister since the apostles." His son Baruch was about to embark for Puritan New England, when he sickened and died. His wife, however, carried out their intent, and after her arrival gave birth to a son, John, the only heir. A son or grandson went to England and enjoyed the family estate, which was large. The name was borne in New England during several generations; but the male branch there is now extinct. There is in Vermont a town called Whittingham, after the descendants of Baruch, probably.

Richard Whittingham
Bro. to Thomas
New York.


My dear father I have seen
the brick makers make
their bricks with clay
Mary Ann is cross
and will not drink
the milk punch. will not
you come papa. and see
me? I saw the Sloop
Washington. and I have
seen Mount Mary


down we ran the mou
nt and up I crept the m
ountain. we saw the riv
er on the mountain.
my dear papa I saw
the men a cutting the
stones Good bye
W P Whittingham

CHAPTER II.

IN THE SEMINARY.

1822–1825.

On the first Monday in November, 1822, the reorganized Seminary began its second year. On November 18th young Whittingham was entered as a student, being then less than seventeen years old. On the 27th of the next month he was matriculated with a class of eight. As he was but a lad in years, so was he but an overgrown boy in personal appearance and in dress; in manners he was diffident and shy, although nervously eager. When examined he proved to be so well prepared that he was asked, "At what college were you educated?" His answer was, "None; my mother has always taught me." "But," added his examiners, "who was your tutor in the languages—in Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew?" Then drawing himself up to his full height, he answered proudly, "My mother!"

When full-grown he measured six feet two inches; at the time of his entrance at the seminary he was nearly six feet high, and his limbs seemed longer than they were; his face was thin, his features prominent, and his lips—had they been of clay—too heavy. But lack of beauty of outline was redeemed by a mobile expression, and by eyes dark and brilliant, flashing at times with a peculiar expression, due, as an artist remarked, to the fact that the pupil was slightly above the centre of the iris. His hair, black and beautifully fine, thrown back from his forehead, fell in natural curls over his shoulders. So he wore his hair until after his con-

secration, when a barber ruthlessly sheared his locks. "It hurt me," said the bishop, "to part with my long hair, but I thought the man knew better than I did what was becoming to a bishop." On his spare and angular frame his clothes hung loosely, although he had found cause a little while before to congratulate those at home on his improved appearance, and on the fact that, as he was a little fatter, they were not quite the bags they had been. Instead of a coat he wore a boy's roundabout, or jacket, over which was turned a broad shirt collar tied with a black ribbon. So he appeared before his examiners; and after this fashion he must have dressed all the time he was connected with the seminary; for in September, 1856, a friend, with many apologies, remonstrated with him by letter, and reported the complaints on this subject which he had heard made by a company of clergymen. His answer shows that the remonstrance was without effect. With good reason, if health and comfort be alone to be considered, the young fellow and deacon rejected the clerical choker of that day, and clung to his independence and black ribbon.

Probably his excited manner and ungainly, unusual figure often provoked a smile among his fellow-students, as they are said to have done on his appearance before his examiners. But in a short time, as the existing testimony of their letters show, he was respected as a man by those who were such in years. Nor did he only gain the respect which was due to his being foremost in all scholarly attainments; he won their warm affections. One who early left the Seminary writes of "the strong impression made on me," and speaks of the value attached to his correspondence. Another says, "I have loved you as I love myself." And a third writes, "Your letters are to me like water to a thirsty soul."

With what happy earnestness the eager boy must have entered upon the studies which were to fit him more especially for the calling he considered so honorable, so holy! With what delight he must have turned from book to book

in the largest library he had yet seen, although then containing not more than twenty-five hundred volumes! This one can readily conceive who is acquainted with his earlier years. But we are not left to imagine how industrious he was. He has left a record of his studies and employment during every day of his stay at the Seminary when not absolutely too ill to do anything. Each day is divided into forenoon, afternoon, and evening. And how each division was filled, what he did and what he read, is written down in a crabbed hand, so minute as often to call for the use of a magnifying glass and some acquaintance with the titles of books to be able to decipher the manuscript. A few times only is anything but a record of work given. Once a fellow-student has given up his candidateship, and Whittingham utters a prayer that he himself may be strengthened and preserved. Once after having noted his reading the lives of Ridley and Latimer, he adds: "May my last end be like theirs! Amen. Amen."

The course at the Seminary is one of three years. During the first half of the course, Whittingham diversified the appointed studies by classical and scientific reading. He studied, not simply read, works on physics and logic; on this latter science his text-book was "Crousaz"—an extended treatise in French in several volumes, which his father bought for him, probably at an auction. In Latin he seems to have chiefly delighted in Horace, but to have read also Cicero and Seneca and Pliny and the Christian Cicero Lactantius. Mention is made of Xenophon's Memorabilia, to which he made an index; Thucydides, Æschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theophrastus, and Apollodorus. Very extensive notes which have been preserved show how thorough he was in the study of the Greek tragedies. During the latter half of the course, less definite mention is made of authors by name; but he writes at times, "closed the evening with the classics." In his second year he took up German; and in the third turned more particularly to the

study of Syriac. He found time to teach Latin and Greek to certain of his fellow-students, and to add to his slender means by proof-reading. For an edition of Horace he was more than a mere reader of proof—he collated various editions. The same may be said of an edition of the Holy Bible. No mention is made of the publishers who had engaged him to do what was so congenial to him. During his third year he solaced himself with the study of music as a science, and with the practice of it. All through the diary note is made of French reading, of novels, poetry, travels, history; more particularly is mention made of such reading in connection with the brief note, "sick"—"violent headache." The Waverley Novels were then astonishing the reading world and rapidly succeeding each other. Notice of them gives a key to the meaning of the frequent phrase, "finished the evening." Twice it is seen that one of these novels—on one occasion it was the "Abbot," on the other the "Antiquary"—took but an evening from more serious employment; the record is, "read it through." During all his course he was laborious in writing analyses of text-books—one still existing of "Pearson on the Creed" is thorough—in writing indexes seemingly of all the more important books read by him; in copying page after page of borrowed books which, we may suppose, he could not purchase; sometimes he wrote an abstract of some book of Scripture from memory. His study of the prescribed course is seen to have been most diligent: references were all looked up and translated passages read in the original; hours were given to the study of a single word of the Greek Testament, its use being traced in profane writers.

Besides the study which recitation demanded, there were two societies in which he took great interest and which required of him no little work. One, the Theological Society, was formed under the statutes of the seminary, and while partaking of the nature of an ordinary college debating society, was under the guidance of the Professor of Pulpit

Eloquence and was intended as a means of clerical training. Among the papers written by Mr. Whittingham and read before this society were essays on "The Primitive Sabbath," "Hades and Sheol," on "Κόσμος," on "Accommodation," "The Quotations in the New Testament," and "The Theocracy of Israel." The first and the last show a degree of thought and extent of reading beyond his years. Could there be given here an essay on the form ἵνα πληρωθῇ, written at the beginning of Whittingham's second year, and another of the same date on "The Peculiarities of the Hebrew Language," the proof they give of critical acumen and of extended research would meet with more than surprise that so young a student should be able to write as an advanced theologian and linguist.

When it was first his duty to read a paper before the Theological Society his essay on the Sabbath was read for him by a friend, because he could not overcome his boyish shamefacedness. For this result of modesty he was fined.

The other society was a voluntary association and was ambitious in its aim. It did not confine itself to the "literary and theological improvement" of its members, but looked to the condition of the whole Church. It was called "The Society of Inquiry respecting the Advancement of Christianity." Its scope included the past, the present, and the future of the Church. To learn its present condition a correspondence was sought with persons all over this country and with foreign societies. This correspondence fell on the young secretary, Whittingham. He was strengthened under his labors by a sense of the importance of knowing the true condition of our own Church. It must be remembered that there were not then all the means of information which we now have. At least one yearly report of this correspondence was published, having been first read in Christ Church, New York, in 1824. From this report, among other startling tokens of the difference which a half century has brought about, we may see that in 1824

there were in Ohio forty-eight organized parishes and but three clergymen—a fact that illustrates the parochial system.

The secretary's zealous interest in this "inquisitive society" is often the subject of playful allusion in letters to him from former fellow-students. The society came to an end through the influence of too great spirituality on the part of some of its members. In a letter to a friend, Mr. Whittingham gives a history of its collapse, and with great satisfaction tells how Bishop Hobart discomfited the disturbing faction, who were, in fact, in opposition to him.

The studies and literary occupations detailed were not enough for our student's energy. He found time to write for the religious newspapers. Also, he was soon made assistant librarian, and all his course through continued to attend the library. Not simply spending a couple of hours on stated days in receiving books returned and recording those taken out, but in arranging and classifying them; and first in aiding in the making, and afterward in finishing alone and seeing through the press, the first catalogue.

His walks to and from home when he went home —for he had a room in the seminary building—gave him all the exercise he took, except an occasional relaxation of "working in the garden," especially in tending his much-loved flowers. But at least Sundays must have been days of rest! Here is the record of one such day: "Morning and afternoon teaching Sunday-school. Three times at church, the intermediate time occupied with a printed sermon, and after the third service sacred music with the family." But the yearly vacation must have brought some lessening of labor! Not if the record of studies be evidence. Such ceaseless application could have had but one effect on health. It is believed that he entered the seminary a strong lad. Once only during his first year is there a notice of "violent headache." But during the second year there is frequent mention of these grievances, from which

he was never after long free; also of transient sickness, and once of a typhoid attack; and there are frequent breaks in the diary with no assigned cause, but without the self-reproach that always follows a delinquency.

His reckless sacrifice of health in his zeal for study occasioned a touching protest from his fellow-students.

At a meeting of the students of the General Theological Seminary, held nobody knows when, and nobody cares where, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, From certain documents laid before this meeting the members have every reason to suppose that William R. Whittingham, a valuable and beloved fellow-student, is in the habit of trifling with his health in various ways and on various occasions; and deeming his loss would be not only a grievous calamity to themselves and the institution, but to the nation at large;

Therefore *Resolved*, That as from the known character of the gentleman he is likely to give them a serious consideration, the following questions be recommended to his attentive investigation: Is not health of great value? Should not I, for my own sake, endeavor to preserve it? Is not my life dear to my family and my friends? Should I not, from the love and duty I owe them, endeavor to preserve it? Is not health a gift of God? Am I not ungrateful in not prizing and taking care of that gift? And may I not, for that ingratitude, be called to account? My object in this unwearied pursuit of learning is to benefit the cause of religion and promote the happiness of my fellow-men: will not this end be lost if I be cut off by my own imprudence before these acquirements are called into full operation? And if I do not fully destroy, must I not greatly diminish my usefulness by such a course of conduct?

Further *Resolved*, That as the young man in question is so completely absorbed in the care of the mind as to neglect the care of the body, the chairman and secretary of this meeting be a committee to superintend the due preservation of the casket containing so precious a gem; and that they report from time to time the progress of their charge.

HENRY J. WHITEHOUSE, *Chairman.*

JOHN A. HICKS, *Secretary.*

This communication, however much it must have gratified, failed to produce any other result. The record of the

vacation that followed gives evidence of the consequences of hurtful overwork, and with it proof, nearly always, of continued work, or what ordinary students would consider such. Thus, "Sick all day. Looked over Proverbs [which means in the Hebrew] and read Aristophanes."

In February of his third year he writes:

"Very ill all day. Read Gibbon." And the next day: "Unwell. Fifty pages of 'Potter on Church Government,' 'Secker's First Lecture on Eucharist,' 'Burnet on Articles,' 32 pages; 'Kirke White.' In evening, classics with fellow-students. Revised proof of Horace, comparing Regent's edition with others. Transcribed tunes."

On July 29, 1825, Mr. Whittingham graduated. In his class were Benjamin Holmes and one other. The career of the latter, which began with promise of usefulness, ended sadly; in a few years he became what Mr. Whittingham, with great sorrow, calls "an apostate," and died soon after. His name does not appear in the list of the alumni. Holmes was a very dear and lifelong friend, on the last of whose letters in 1836 Whittingham wrote:

Thus terminated a pleasant and profitable intercourse. God be praised for so great a blessing as it has been to me. Holmes's death leaves a gap for me which nothing in this life can ever fill up.

All the other members of the class who began their seminary course with these three graduates were already settled ministers. The term for candidateship was not then, as now, three years, and the demand for clergy often led bishops to ordain their candidates much earlier. Sometimes lack of means led to these "Gretna Green ordinations," as some letter of young Whittingham calls them. But probably also there was in the first year of the seminary a lack of that system which marks the distinction between a full and an unfinished course.

On the day of his graduation * Mr. Whittingham read an essay "On the advantages of the study of ecclesiastical history," "that branch of history which relates to the dealings of God with man." The future professor of the science he then magnified, illustrated, under three divisions, how Church history confirms the doctrine, points out the discipline, and enforces the morals which mark the Church of God.

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* The commencement was held in Christ Church, Anthony Street.

CHAPTER III.

FELLOW IN THE SEMINARY.—MADE DEACON.

1825–1829.

When Mr. Whittingham received his diploma he lacked several months of being twenty years old. He had then to wait nearly a year and a half for the canonical age to receive orders. It is remarkable that in 1844 his only brother, Richard Whittingham, graduated at a like age, when four months less than twenty. This happened also in 1842, in the case of a much-loved pupil of Dr. Whittingham, Arthur Carey—like to his teacher in powers of mind, in scholarly attainments, in humility, in entire surrender of self to God, in love for his fellow-men and in influence over those with whom he came in contact; unlike, as in some traits of character, so in this, that he died early in the contest with self and the world, in less than two years after being made deacon—an ordination which is one of the marked events in the history of our Church. Carey remained a year as resident graduate. Whittingham maintained a closer connection with the Seminary a longer time.

After the commencement exercises the board of trustees met, and, with other business, appointed Mr. Whittingham librarian, with a salary of one hundred dollars. They also made him Fellow. The statutes of the Seminary, enacted in 1822, contemplate the founding of fellowships; but in 1825 there was no endowment * of any. To meet the

* The first endowment of a fellowship was made in 1880.

case of Mr. Whittingham, it was resolved that on the recommendation of the faculty, on certain conditions a graduate may reside at the Seminary and enjoy the academic privileges of a Fellow.

Mr. Whittingham's diary records the events of the closing days of the life of an under-graduate as briefly as those of any other period of the course. Mention is made of examination, but not of honors—not even of the fact that there had been granted him the privileges of a fellowship without salary. He does not intimate, what a knowledge of his excitable nature suggests, that he was utterly exhausted, and that nature claimed her dues; he does not mention the fact that on the day of graduation he went to bed early and slept continuously two nights and a day. It was with difficulty that he could be persuaded that the world was right and he wrong as regards the day of the week on which he awoke.

When he rose from his long rest freed from all the restraints of a seminarian, he marked his deliverance by an unusual indulgence; he took a solitary stroll up the Hudson and through the adjacent counties, during which he read, while walking, the Epistles in Greek. On his return he resumed his former manner of life. A while after, Mr. Holmes, then in charge at Morristown, urged him to lay aside work and come and refresh himself in the country. To this invitation he answered:

> As to Morristown, I cannot think of it. The vacation is more than half run out, and I have not accomplished one-third of my proposed tasks. I stole three days to go up to Mosquito Cove to visit my mother, who had been there three weeks, and I can hardly forgive myself for that.

What the proposed task was is not known, but it was the beginning of something definite. A few months previous his near friend, the Rev. Edward Thomas—whose name is borne by the bishop's elder son—wrote to him:

As to the course of literary pursuits you mention as having laid out for yourself, I will only say, "God be with you and prosper you." It is a great and laudable undertaking. With your zeal, application, and humility, through Divine assistance it cannot but redound to your honor and the Church's good.

He evidently expected to spend the four years contemplated by the statutes in the discharge of the duties of a Fellow, and when constrained to abandon this thought he feared that he should be charged by friends with inconstancy.

When the Seminary reopened he should have come under the direction of the faculty as ordered by the resolution of the trustees, and he was desirous of so doing. But the faculty seem to have never discharged their duty in this respect. All "the academic privileges of a Fellow" amounted to nothing more than connection with the Seminary, and this was secured by the office of librarian.

While waiting for what never came, the assigning by the faculty of special duties, his readiness to work for others insured his being made use of by Dr. Turner, who had undertaken to give to English readers "Jahn's Introduction." One request for aid was followed by another until the doctor concluded to engage his former pupil as co-translator. Probably but for the help thus secured his work would have never seen the light. A great deal of labor was given to it, both separately and jointly.* The translators so worked together that each of them is responsible for the whole with the exception of a single note, in which a history

* In a letter to Mr. Holmes, dated February 3, 1827, Mr. Whittingham says: "Jahn progresses with considerable rapidity, and I grow every day more sanguine as to the character of the book. Its *success* will abundantly satisfy me if it clears expenses. Dr. T. and myself spend from two to six hours at it separately four days in the week, and six hours jointly the remaining two. Every part of it will have been read over four times and twice transcribed. The additions are large, consisting of extracts from Jahn's German, of extracts from De Wette, Rosenmüller, Carpzov, Eichhorn, etc., of references on the subjects discussed, and of original notes. As yet most of the three last articles are my work."

of the Samaritan Pentateuch is given by Dr. Turner alone, whose conclusion, very probably, was not accepted by his junior, who yet does not say so in the volume. Dr. John Jahn, Professor of Theology in the University of Vienna (died 1816), published, among other works, "Biblical Archæology," in German, in two volumes, and "An Introduction to the Sacred Books of the Old Testament," in Latin. The "Introduction to the Old Testament" of Turner and Whittingham is a translation of the latter work, with many additions from the "Archæology," which are partly incorporated with the text and partly given as notes, together with many original notes and references to other sources of information on the subjects treated. The object of the translators was to place in the hands of American theological students a treatise, learned and yet not cumbersome, on all that concerns the history of the several books of the Old Testament. Their work appeared in 1827; it was well received by scholars, but the publication was not profitable to them, and a second edition has not been called for.

The translating the "Introduction" was not wholly a diversion from the pursuits he had hoped to follow when made a Fellow; but soon the acquisition of knowledge to which he had purposed to devote three years at least, was interrupted by the duty of laboring to impart knowledge which was imposed on him. His bishop first called him as a layman to work in the cause of the Sunday-School Union, devotion to which utterly broke down his health, enfeebled by previous assiduity as a student; and then gave him deacon's orders and, with these, clerical duties. His connection with the Sunday-School Union shall be treated separately, without regard to sequence of events.

Mr. Whittingham was made deacon by Bishop Hobart, in St. John's Church, New York, on the second Sunday in Lent, March 11, 1827. Dr. Turner presented him. It had been arranged that he should be appointed to a chaplaincy virtually in the bishop's gift. The receiving orders

at this time was not in simple compliance with the bishop's wishes. A letter to his friend Holmes, which may be found at the close of this chapter, tells of the motives which brought about the breaking of his original purpose. His diary, more briefly, states the same facts, and adds: "I am promised $300 per annum, which will maintain me, and on which I am willing, if I can be so most useful to the Church of God, to spend my life."

His record continues: "March 11, P.M.—Preached my first sermon in Zion Church [the parish church of his family], performing service myself. Text, Phil. i. 29, written the preceding week. Was not generally heard. Too rapid in enunciation. Voice weak. Even.—Read service and preached in Zion, No. 2. Gal. vi. 4, written the preceding week. Enunciation better, but still not well heard. Hope this sermon may have had *some* effect. Much exhausted."

The next Sunday, after other duty: "P.M.—Read service and preached, Matt. xi. 21, at St. Paul's Chapel, for Bishop Hobart, who is at Albany. Preached with ease. Heard with some difficulty. Thought severe." The same judgment follows his sermon the next Sunday at St. John's, where he preached again for the absent bishop. "Complained of as too severe. Thank God." A few months later he writes: "W. A. C. tells me that a good lady who heard me at St. Thomas' was pleased with my sermon, but went away convinced that I must be a Low Churchman, or I could not preach so practically and so plainly. Thank God."

The Charity School of which Mr. Whittingham was chaplain, and over which he had a certain supervision, was connected with Trinity Parish, on a foundation nearly as old as the corporation itself, but not under the direct control of the vestry. It has borne several shapes, being changed to suit changing circumstances. Out of it has grown the present Trinity school—an institution very different in its aim from

the one which in the beginning cared only for the helpless poor. In the rear of Trinity Church stands a substantial building, now used as stables, in the walls of which is to be still seen a stone bearing the inscription, "Charity School of Trinity Church." Here Mr. Whittingham began his work as a clergyman. The three hundred children who were brought together here during the week to receive the schooling thought suitable for such as were to learn trades or to go out to service, he endeavored to train for the service of our common Lord, who is no respecter of persons. To them and to their parents he was a faithful pastor during a little more than two years, with some interruptions consequent upon his connection with the Sunday-School Union, but none so long as those claimed by many modern city rectors.

A few Sundays after ordination an accident happened that shows the spirit that always upheld him in the discharge of duty. Simple impossibility to carry out his purpose was the only hindrance he could ever submit to in any engagement his life through. On this occasion, in some way, before leaving home for the Charity School, he had divided a small artery, "which bled profusely during the service." He felt the warm blood flowing, but yet he catechised his children and read service and preached as though there had been nothing the matter. The consequence was confinement at home during several days through exhaustion. There is such a thing as listening to a dictate of prudence and sparing one's self even through a sense of accountability to God. This was not unfrequently urged upon the student, deacon, priest, and bishop, but Whittingham could never see its force when contrary to his impulse *to do*.

There were published—now not to be purchased—two small volumes of sermons to children by Mr. Whittingham, probably what he preached to his charity children, but his diary shows that he soon acquired the habit of preaching from notes and sometimes without written preparation. Writing of his discourses at the school, on one occasion he

makes the "Mem. Saxon words must be used in speaking to children." Some of his attentive hearers in later years would have been glad had he remembered that men are but children of a larger growth, and in their behalf had observed his rule, for as Johnson's orotund style was due to that of earlier writers with whom he was familiar, so was it with Whittingham; his language was not unfrequently influenced by that of the great churchmen of the age of James and Charles.

On the day of the graduation of Mr. Whittingham the corner-stone of what is now known as the East Building of the seminary was laid with religious ceremonies by Bishop White; the venerable prelate protesting as he did so that "he who addresses you . . . would withdraw his hand from laying the first stone, if he could foresee that in the instruction to be given in the building there would at any future time (at present there is no danger of it) be a departure from those properties of our system in doctrine and discipline and in worship which in the sixteenth century were cleared from superstition by the leaders of the English Reformation. . . . These principles will be in the mind of him who now presides, when, agreeably to the office committed to him by the trustees, he shall lay his hand on the stone before him, accompanying the gesture with the saying of Scripture, 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'"

More than a year and a half passed before the building could be occupied. The location was then such as was commended for its rural quietude. The building was reached by a carriage road through an apple orchard. April 25, 1827, Mr. Whittingham notes in his diary, "A.M., went out to Seminary, now finally quitting my father's kind roof," and two days after he writes to Holmes from "Seminary Building, southeast room, second story. I have been settled here three days, and am delighted with the situation and with keeping bachelors' hall, which I assure you we do in style."

Some time during the summer of 1828 he declined the offer of the place of principal of the academy in Cheshire, Conn. This school, once, it is believed, the only institution for learning strictly belonging to the Church, had fallen into decay. The bishop and trustees were anxious to revive its influence, and thought that this could be done under the headship of a young and ardent man of ability. In October they renewed with pressing urgency the offer made to Mr. Whittingham some months before. An answer had to be given within twenty-four hours. He endeavored to see Bishop Hobart and the Rev. Mr. Onderdonk, but could not find either of them. His parents and Dr. Turner advised acceptance, and his own judgment was biassed by the fact that removal from New York offered an escape from "difficulties of the most perplexing kind which were daily thickening round" him, and from pressing cares of business under which his health was rapidly failing. Thus influenced he accepted the offer made to him, and thus involved himself in mortifying troubles and drew upon himself even the open charge of duplicity because of failing to do what was beyond his power. He resigned his position in the Seminary and his connection with many societies, and even wrote his first sermon for Cheshire. But in a few days he learned, what it is strange he should have overlooked, that he was wholly in the power of a man not easily thwarted in his purposes.

Bishop Hobart meant that he should remain in the Seminary, and being moreover hurt by his positive acceptance of the school without consultation with his superior, so expressed himself as to give pain to his young friend, to whom he was sincerely attached. The next day the bishop sent his son-in-law to explain. The interview is thus recorded: "Conversation with Ives. He retracts part of what Bishop Hobart said last evening, to my great joy. Offers a thousand dollars per annum, rooms, leisure, etc., if I will only stay. Negative." What was in his eyes a bribe insured a refusal.

Bound by his engagements to the trustees of the school, he also declined the offer of the chair of moral philosophy made by Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut. On asking for letters dimissory, to his astonishment he received the following:

NEW YORK, November 6, 1828.

DEAR SIR:

I have just received your letter in which you request me to give you a letter dimissory from this diocese in order to take charge of the academy at Cheshire, Connecticut.

The canons place a deacon of this diocese under my direction, and it therefore becomes my duty to consider and determine whether the removal which you contemplate be correct and expedient. I am fully satisfied that a regard to your own welfare and to the best interests of the institutions of the Church at large, and in which you are a most active and efficient agent, should induce you not to relinquish your present stations of usefulness. In this opinion I am fortified by the judgment of all your friends whom I have consulted. I think, therefore, I ought not to sanction by an act of mine your removal from the diocese, and must decline granting the letters dimissory which you request.

You are not to be considered as having in any way suggested, or as now sanctioning, the course which from strongest convictions of duty to the Church and from sincere regard for you I feel compelled to adopt on my own responsibility.

I am, Rev. and Dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

J. H. HOBART.

The Rev. Mr. WHITTINGHAM.

"The result," he writes to Holmes, "has been no small disappointment to me. But I endeavor cheerfully to submit." He resumed quietly "the teazing multitudes of petty businesses" which, with proper duties, were wearing him away. No one of his numerous resignations seems to have been acted on. He went on as before with his studies, which no other engagements had interrupted, and to which now, at Dr. Turner's suggestion, Arabic was added—in which, however, he could not have made much progress—

and with his continual helping of other students. His specific charge as chaplain and superintendent of the Charity School was a refreshment rather than a burden. Not so, however, the duties of librarian during this period. A few months before the offer of the Cheshire Academy he wrote to Holmes:

> Yesterday I was thirteen hours occupied with Finch completing the arrangement of our library on the shelves. After that I was so tired that I could neither think, nor write, nor read.

While there are many entries in his diary such as these: "Two hours—four hours given to arranging library." Add to these labors the attending a number of societies, tract and Bible, etc., of which he was an active member—but above all the wearying duties connected with various branches of the Sunday-school work. His health grew worse and worse. It must have been at this time that he was in the nervous state described by himself. When he sought sleep it would not come to him. His condition was such that, night after night, without the horrors, he was in a state like to *delirium tremens;* when he would lie down on his bed the air would fill with monkeys and demons. "That upper case," he said, pointing to the top one of a diminishing series of book boxes, "would open, and my own head would project itself and grin and make faces at me. Now you can readily conceive that a spectre with *my* features mowing at one is not a pleasant sight." He always recognized that his features were not those of an Antinöus. When at Orange he wrote to his mother: "I saw Z., who, I am told, is very like to me in person. His appearance gave me a very vivid impression of the propriety of M. F.'s friend's observation, namely, *the Orange parson is mortal ugly!*"

During the winter he somewhat regained strength, but in the spring it was made evident that it would be impossible for him to continue to discharge all that he had undertaken.

On April 26th he fainted during service at the Seminary. The next day a proposal was made to him which opened a way of escape. When the facts were made known to Bishop Hobart, however reluctant, he felt constrained to give his consent to the proposal if it could be carried out, although it effected all that he had so determinately opposed. The arrangements were made, and Whittingham sent in to the proper authorities his resignation of all the offices he had held. When the board of trustees accepted his resignation as librarian they presented to him their thanks for "his able, diligent, and faithful discharge of the duties of librarian to the Seminary." And so his connection with his much-loved Alma Mater was severed until his return to her as professor.

After his ordination his diary became something more than a list of studies and things done. At times he here records emotions, purposes, and the consequences of retrospection, and too often of introspection. During the period covered by this chapter there are evident tokens of deepening spirituality and of increasing severity with self. The bitter things he writes against himself may be guessed at from the entry on December 2, 1828: "I dare hardly recall to mind that this day I have been in the world three-and-twenty years. Oh! how have I wasted the early morning of my days! how worse than wasted. *Κύριε ἐλέησόν με·*." He represents himself as being much indebted to a friend, John V. Van Ingen,* who became a clergyman, and afterward his brother-in-law, of whom he writes: "For Christian communion with V. I. I hope to have cause to praise my Maker to all eternity." In almost his last conversation with the writer Bishop Whittingham spoke of this friend,

* This is the Rev. Dr. Van Ingen so well known and so long prominent in the former Diocese of Western New York. He was collaborateur with Mr. Whittingham in all the earlier portion of his life, shared with him faithfully all the fatigues of the era 1827–29, consulted and worked with him in all the exhausting efforts for the establishment of the Episcopal press, until the physical health of the one and the nervous strength of the other broke down nearly at the same time. R. WHITTINGHAM.

who had died not very long before, as "the purest and holiest man he had ever known" and as the person to whom he perhaps owed most. Mr. Whittingham also found cause to thank God for the good providence which had led to the habitual use of Law's "Serious Call." One familiar with him in the later years of his life can trace the lasting influence of Law on the mind of the young zealot. The ascetic principles, the trampling under foot of earthly things, the not conferring with flesh and blood when God's voice is thought to be heard—this, which the holy non-juror inculcates, is seen to have been the ruling influence of the bishop's life. And yet he seems to have been early afraid of the tendency of some of the teachings which he accepted as true. In July, 1828, he writes:

> Heard from R. B. Croes some news respecting Baltimore, which, without being any present disappointment to me, convinces me more than ever of the vanity of all earthly hopes by showing how I might have been deceived had I suffered apparent interest to rule awhile since. I trust this was serviceable to me. Feel more than ever disposed to resign myself and all I have to God. Melancholy at home. Mother ill. All this disposes me more than a little to absolute quietism. I have been verging thither some time past. Is it wrong? If so I must stir and pray and work, or I shall be gone.

The next chapter will refer to the same period of time gone over in this, because of the wish to tell continuously the story of Mr. Whittingham's connection with the Sunday-School Union.

LETTERS.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO THE REV. R. B. CROES, RICHMOND, VA.

New York, February 15, 1825.

Dear Croes.

. . . That βαπτισμῶν is Hebraistically used as an adjective [in Heb. vi. 2] I perfectly agree with you. . . . It is one of the most common Hebraisms. When reading with Dr. Turner I kept a list, and I find the following instances: Ephesians vi. 2: τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, evil spirits; iv. 29: οἰκοδομὴν τῆς κρείας, useful instruction; iv. 24: ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας, true holiness; iii. 16: τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης, glorious riches; i. 6—which is a form differing from the others—δόξης τῆς χάριτος, of the glorious gift. Gal. vi. 1: ἐν πνεύματι πραΰτητος, a meek spirit. Romans xi. 33: Ὦ βάθος πλούτου, oh the rich depth both of the wisdom and knowledge. So in Heb. vi. 2, 2 Thess. ii. 11, Romans vi. 4, Ephes. iv. 17, are examples of this same form given by Storr, Observationes, etc., p. 236, where the subject is fully discussed. The sense then will be baptismal instruction. But what is this baptismal instruction? I hardly understand you. . . . Baptismal doctrine was those first principles of Christianity which are contained in the Apostles' Creed. . . . L. Capellus, Schlensner, Macknight, Cameron, and Wolfius understand βαπτ. διδαχ. of Jewish washings. Zegerus, Prasmus, and the Greek scholiasts, of doctrines taught persons about to be baptized. Vatablus, of the doctrine of the necessity of baptism. Grotius, of a double baptism—ritual and spiritual. G. T. Meier reads separately βαπτ. διδαχ. ἐπιϑ. interpreting baptism catechetical instruction and confirmation. The plural βαπτισμῶν he accounts for by the triple immersion common at an early period.

Calvin, I find, gives exactly the interpretation to the whole passage that I have done. "Hoc sensu: Non jacientes rursus

fundamentum penitentiæ, fidei in Deum, Mortuorum resurrectionis, quæ doctrina est baptismatum et impositionis manuum." "Baptismos nominat solemnes ritus." The whole of Calvin's note is excellent. "*Hic unus locus abunde testatur*," says he, "*hujus ceremoniæ originem fluxisse ab Apostolis ;*" "*hodie retinenda pura institutio est.*" He is speaking of confirmation.

You ask for some specimens of Rabbinical absurdities . . .

The rest of a long letter is chiefly occupied with "absurd" interpretations of Scripture.

NOVEMBER 16, 1825.

. . . R., lately ordained by Bishop White, preached at St. George's last Sunday. His sermon was a tissue of the most highly colored descriptions of human misery brought to prove that man is predestined to his temporal and eternal condition without respect to merits of any kind. . . .

In 1826 the Virginia Legislature seems to have been considering the propriety of lessening the restrictions on marriage inherited through England. Mr. Croes, who was then an assistant to Bishop Moore in Richmond, asked for certain information touching marriage to a wife's sister. His friend answered:

The search in the Mishna must occupy some time, as you give no references, and six folio volumes, even with the help of indexes, are not to be looked through in half an hour.

He then fills a closely written foolscap sheet with quotations from other sources, the gist of which is that the Rabbinical Jews interpret Lev. xviii. 18 as forbidding only the taking two sisters to wife at the same time; while the Karaites, a well-cursed sect of the Jews, differ. One quotation from Drusius, who, however, upholds the Rabbins, says: "*Ecce unus e Rabbanim exponit locum illum de duabus sororibus, ut etiam Doctores omnes Catholici ad nostram usque ætatem.*" Having shown that the Karaites trace their origin to Schammai, cotemporary of the famous

Hillel, and that they are not to be counted insignificant either as regards numbers or respectability, the letter continues:

The Karaites reject tradition about in the same degree that we *true* Protestant Episcopalians do, considering Holy Scriptures alone the fountain of truth, but taking the testimony of ancient doctors into consideration as subsidiaries to the interpretation of Scripture. On the subject of forbidden marriages treated of in Lev. xviii., their difference from the Rabbinists is considerable, and may exemplify their general principles. The latter maintain that no connection is forbidden *by the Law* which is not mentioned in express words in this chapter (the only place treating on the subject). But then to make out the deficiency they maintain that the oral law is of equal authority, and assert that it contains all the degrees in which marriage is forbidden that are omitted in Lev. xviii. The Karaites, on the contrary, deny that there is any authority on the subject of forbidden marriages other than this chapter of Leviticus, but maintain that it contains all the degrees. This results from their system of interpretation—which is much the same as ours—giving equal authority to what is deduced by legitimate conclusion from the sacred text, as to what is expressly asserted in it. Thus Lev. xviii. 14, a woman is forbidden to marry her father's brother. The Rabbinists say that for the law concerning her mother's brother you must go to the oral law. The Karaites say that the one given in fact contains both, as the latter can be deduced, by fair inference, from the former. *Hactenus de Karaeis.*

Our city is at present turned upside down by an uncommonly virulent influenza, which seizes two-thirds of every family and keeps them for a week or more seriously ill. Some have even died of it. In our own family, out of nine, five were at one time confined to their rooms. In the Seminary it has caused a complete suspension of exercises. Library shut. No society meetings. No recitations. . . . W. R. W.

Having given the results of an examination of the Mishna, he continues:

February 10, 1826.

I do not believe that this will be anything to your purpose, but having no acquaintance with the subject or the book to be consulted I found it impossible to be more accurate.

You wish me to tell you how I interpret Vincent's rule. In good truth I have troubled myself very little about it. My rules of faith are dependent on my rules of interpretation. As witnesses of the received opinions of the times immediately subsequent to those of the apostles, I believe the fathers to afford a most important aid in ascertaining the meaning of the sacred writers of the New Testament. More than this, I confess, I do not feel disposed to grant at present. As for Vincent's rule, it appears to me that it can never be applied without some limitation. . . . How large a portion of the Church Catholic is equal to all? . . . As regards the extent of the operation of the rule, some limitation seems to be necessary. Else [Art. VI. would be impugned.]

If you confine its use to the interpretation of Scripture, I deny the necessity of *all*, or always, or everywhere. If Christians immediately succeeding the apostles in the countries where they were most conversant support any given interpretation, I want no better authority. Nay, I would not scruple to prefer the testimony of ten men so situated to that of an hundred of later times or of regions less favored with apostolic instructions. The consent of later ages and remoter regions would indeed strengthen their testimony, just as a buttress would strengthen a wall of itself able to bear the weight imposed on it, but their dissent would not weaken the testimony. . . I think there is much wit in the remark written in the cover of an old copy of Vincent in our library by one who has probably been dead two hundred years: "In readinge this booke y^e^ reader must keepe his eyes open as y^e^ papists use to make manie quibbles out of its contentes." . . . I do not profess to have studied this subject, and, of course, am peculiarly liable to error. . . .

Later in life he did not hesitate to enforce the Vincentian rule, which does but formulate submission to the "Common Law" of the Catholic Church.

. . . You tell me to go into company and see human nature. I have seen enough and too much of it in these [seminary] disputes and on other similar occasions, without going into company. The fact is I must choose between usefulness and relaxation *alias* pleasure, so called. Useful in company I cannot be: nature—rather Providence—has entirely unfitted me for it. My awkward bodily frame, my feeble constitution, my hesitancy of speech, my unreadiness in conversation, my too susceptible feelings, all unfit me, totally unfit me, for company. On the contrary, by confining myself to a

few friends, and occupying myself in study, I do think that in time I may be useful. God has blessed me with a quickness of perception and durable retention that by industry may be improved into instruments of usefulness to the Church at large. He has further blessed me with opportunities for cultivating my mind altogether beyond what I had a right to expect. For these I am accountable, and with His assistance I will turn them to the best account.

Yours, W. R. W.

On the second day after his marriage, Mr. Whittingham wrote:

I have just read Bishop Ravenscroft's last sermon, as usual with improvement and delight. But what do you think of his making marriage a perpetually obligatory religious ordinance? . . .

As for the unbloody sacrifice of the Eucharist, that does not frighten me, and—Dr. Turner's sedulous warnings, given so repeatedly in the seminary course, to the contrary notwithstanding—I have long made up my mind that the Christian ministry is ἱερατική. The bold and decisive manner in which the bishop states his principles will, I should think, excite some attention. They are, I believe, Dr. Hickes's. I know not how Bishop White will like from a brother bishop whom he has so publicly honored this promulgation of the sentiments of a man whose very name, inserted in the list at the head of the prospectus of the Standard Works, formed with him an objection to the whole undertaking.

ORANGE, September 14, 1830.

. . . You soften your criticisms as to style [that of the Preface to the first volume of the Standard Works] by saying something about my "usual chaste manner." Now I know full well, and by this time you ought to know, that style never was my forte. My tendency is to long involved sentences, to a stiff—generally, I believe, correct, but never graceful—syntactical construction, and in the collocation of words to an order rather Latin than English. Against this I have to struggle continually when composing. I have found but two ways effectual to counteract it: the one to write diffusely, lay my composition by, and after a considerable lapse of time again take it up and go over it with the sole design to untwist its involutions, break up its long and awkward periods, and marshal its words into an order more Addisonian; the other, to dash off my work in haste, in a loose, careless, conversational strain. Unfortunately for

me, the nature and number of my occupations for two or three years last past has left me no option between these modes of counteracting my constitutional defects of composition; the last has been Hobson's choice. Accordingly it was thus that I wrote my Preface. That it was better to write it thus than to present what I had to say in my own constrained, awkward, unintelligible style, I think you will allow when you call to mind that the book was designed not for you, nor such as you, but for popular use.

W. R. W.

The last two extracts bear a later date than belongs to this period. They are placed here because no other letter from Mr. Whittingham to Mr. Croes has been recovered.

TO THE REV. B. HOLMES.

REASONS FOR ORDINATION SOONER THAN HAD BEEN PURPOSED.

New York, March 12, 1827.

Dear Holmes:

. . . I break through the rules of etiquette on an occasion which can never again occur. . . . *I am in deacon's orders*, and have already preached twice. I know you will be surprised at an event so contrary to all that I have hitherto expressed to you of my views and intentions on the subject. Nevertheless I am sure you will neither think me inconsistent nor imprudent when you learn the motives of my procedure. The fact is, as the time approached when it was expected that we should remove to the seminary buildings, I began seriously to reflect upon the additional expenditure which I should then occasion to my father by adding at least one hundred and fifty dollars per annum to the sum which he already lays out on me for clothes, books, and, though last not least, postage. I am now of an age when, if he had placed me at any mechanical trade, I should not only support myself, but be able to assist him, now growing old and burdened with a large family of children, who from their sex require more ultimate provision than an equal number of boys would need. I concluded, therefore, that it was my duty rather to renounce the benefits of a few additional years' study than to remain any longer a burden to my father. With this view, in a confidential conversation with my excellent friend, Dr. B. T. O., I stated the preceding circumstances and declared that, although perfectly willing to acquiesce in the bishop's and his views (which you know consider me a fixture to the Seminary) when not interfered with by higher considerations, I thought my duty in the present case plain,

and should prepare for ordination and accept the first situation that offered a support and sphere of usefulness. He agreed with me as to the propriety of my supporting myself, but thought that the bishop might be able to put me in some way of doing so without disconnecting myself from the Seminary, and requested me to name what I would consider a sufficient support to warrant my continuance in the Seminary. I stated $300. Accordingly this day three weeks ago Dr. Onderdonk, from the bishop, informed me that I should be appointed chaplain and catechist to the Episcopal Charity School with a salary of $250, which, with my librarian's salary, deducting $50 for an assistant, whom I should in such case need, would support me. I was required to prepare for orders in a fortnight. . . . You, knowing my feelings and views better than any one else in this world, perhaps even better than myself, can judge of the emotion which this communication would excite. I consulted my father and Finch (who in your absence in some respects supplies your place), accepted the appointment, procured the necessary testimonials, stood my third and fourth examinations, and was yesterday morning ordained in St. John's Church. I read prayers and preached entirely alone yesterday afternoon and evening in Zion. To-day the trustees of the Charity School have met and, I trust, appointed me. Next Sunday I enter on my charge, and preach thenceforth twice a day to a flock of three hundred children, with such of their parents as may choose to attend. It will be literally "preaching the Gospel to the poor," and I do hope will afford me a wider field of usefulness than I could have in many parishes. A seven-years' apprenticeship in Sunday-school instruction has in some measure qualified me to be a children's preacher, and if it please God to bless me with health and zeal and diligence, I anticipate great satisfaction in my pastoral connection, for so I may almost term it. I feel exceedingly thankful to Him who has always been so good to me that I am thus enabled to exonerate my father from further expense in a manner so perfectly unexceptionable and so grateful to my inclinations. It is, indeed, a *city* appointment, but such a one that the tongue of calumny could not attribute my acceptance of it to a love either of lucre, fame, or ease. Thank God! I can remain in my Alma Mater and pursue my studies and yet be useful, I flatter myself extensively useful, and at the same time earn a decent support. Rejoice with me, my dear friend, and pray for me that I may never regret the vows of God that I yesterday assumed, but may be enabled through faith in Christ to present myself, soul and body, a holy and acceptable sacrifice to our Maker and Redeemer. W. R. W.

BISHOP HOBART AND THE CLERICAL ASSOCIATION.

NEW YORK, April 24, 1829.

MY DEAR HOLMES:

. . . For once I will try my hand at a regular news letter. And therofore, *imprimis*—for what is uppermost in everybody's attention, and on every one's tongue, must deserve the first place—of *the* "New York Protestant Episcopal Clerical Association." Were you not amazed when you first received the pastoral? I think such must have been the sensation of every one not previously acquainted with the train of events. Unfortunately I was not among that happy number. I knew of the project as long ago as last July, and was privy to its progress at intervals from that period until the week preceding the fulmination. Dr. Wainwright, I believe, was the first broacher of the scheme, and the prime mover in its accomplishment. McIlvaine, Eastburn, and Dr. Turner were his hearty coadjutors; Dr. Milnor and Muhlenberg were his encouragers; and —— was his tool. At first I liked the plan. I thought it intended for mutual conference on points of ministerial and parochial duty, and supposed that as such it might at least afford advantageous opportunities of improvement to the younger clergy, who might profit much by the experience of their elder brethren, and derive instruction from them in this way which they could procure by no other method. Of course I supposed that however it might originate, it would be proposed to all the clergy of the city, and be organized and conducted by the decision of the majority—the bishop approving, or at least consenting. But about four weeks previous to the explosion I began to be undeceived. I learned that a few gentlemen had undertaken to arrange the whole matter, that the bishop had not been consulted and was to be allowed no share in its direction, that a formed constitution was to be gotten up by a caucus, and if the rest consented—well, if not, they must be excluded, or form an opposition. Soon after the constitution-makers organized themselves, and Schroeder was chosen secretary, the constitution being printed. A copy of this was shown to me, and I was asked to sign it. I declined without consideration, and asked and received a copy for examination. This I found to be wholly different from what I had expected. In doubt, I resolved to practice the Ignatian rule *μηδὲν πρασσέτω κ. τ. λ.*, and, as in such cases (not even, as far as my intention was concerned, excepting the Cheshire case) I have always done, consult my bishop. It was the first he knew of the affair. The constitution I had brought to show him was the first he had

seen, and conveyed to him the first intimation of its existence. He asked me for a copy. Under the circumstances I could not leave mine with him, but I made a transcript of the articles and gave it to him that evening. Two days more gave the pastoral to the light and whelmed the world—our world—in surprise. This is the secret history of the affair. The rest, how the pastoral was succeeded by the "Constitution and form of prayer" with the preface, and how this was replied to by the "Vindication," and this again succeeded by the far-famed "Letter to his parishioners and to the association" of Wainwright, and that rebutted by the "Postscript to the Vindication," and all these contorted and set in his own light by that ecclesiastical incendiary of the Recorder, you know already. But you cannot know what an extraordinary sensation all these things have produced among churchmen of every degree, especially the laity. I believe they have not been so much excited since the famous Hobart and Jones dispute. In all this the current has been overwhelming in favor of the bishop. Dr. W.'s people, almost to a man, were against him. His warden, it is said, waited on him and declared that his people were undoubtedly attached to him, but if he, presuming on that attachment, endeavored to set them in array against the bishop, they would not hesitate to give the predominance to their long and tried attachment to their diocesan. As for S., all appearances, at present, are that the matter will cost him his situation. . . . The whole aspect of this affair is alarming to any one who will look at it from the stand which such a churchman and Christian as Jones of Nayland, for instance, would take. The bishop's reasons are, I believe, good, entirely so, and certainly in the first instance they were urged in a most proper manner. But there is a dreadful mass of alloy commingled with these motives in the excitement of his supporters. Very much of the clamor against the association is against it as a "praying club," and I do believe that the hubbub respecting it has done more to put back true religion in Grace and Trinity parishes than all the labors of their pastors have done to advance it in two years. . . . The Seminary must be my next subject, and here I have no better news. . . . Meanwhile our Sunday-School Union is steadily, I might even say rapidly, progressing. My whole care and study is that it shall not be made a party institution, but shall steadily and quietly maintain the principles of Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Horne, of George Herbert and William Jones. . . .

W. R. W.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

1826–1829.

Sunday-schools for the instruction of the poor, whether adults or children, began to be established in New York City about the year 1814.

Seventeen years later the managers of the Episcopal Sunday-School Society, in their annual report, say:

> In many of our churches, more particularly in large cities, the Sunday-schools are confined to poor and uneducated children; but in some of them, and very generally in the country, the schools are open for all the children in the parish, and all are encouraged to belong to them.

They grew rapidly in favor and soon developed into that system which is now a recognized means of missionary effort, and as well of training the children of believing parents, perhaps to a lessening of the sense of parental obligation.

It is often said that Sunday-schools owe their origin to the philanthropy of Robert Raikes, and there has been a centenary celebration of the system begun by him in Gloucester. If it be meant that before 1780 there was for the young and the ignorant poor no Sunday teaching other than that which public religious services furnished, the assertion has no other foundation than that of ignorance of Church history. For its contradiction it is not necessary to look farther than to the charity school of which Mr. Whit-

tingham was chaplain, which was founded in 1709, and which, like to the German schools since the days of Luther, was taught seven days in the week—the Sunday being given to religious instruction. Doubtless during the second decade of this century in this country a zeal for teaching the poor was felt by pious persons which had not till then been common. Everywhere Sunday-schools were organized either in connection with religious congregations or by associated teachers under superintendents.

No sooner did these schools become at all numerous than common interests suggested unions for mutual support. Societies are heard of almost as soon as Sunday-schools are known to have existed. And in general such societies were formed without regard to denominational differences.

In 1824 the American Sunday-School Union succeeded to an earlier kindred institution in Philadelphia and soon became a rich and influential corporation. The basis of this Union is consent in what its members deem the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, to the exclusion of all those matters about which men differ and yet hold the Bible in common as their sole standard; and its publications contain nothing objected to by any one of a committee of supervision, each a representative of a different evangelical body. Unions such as this, whose members, perhaps widely differing, consent to work together for what they hold in common, have much that is attractive, not only to those who count indifference to dogma the surest mark of charity, but also to many Christians of a very different mind who would be very unwilling to surrender any one of their denominational peculiarities. The question might be asked: "If matters of difference be received as God taught, what right has one to act as if they were not essential truths? If they be not so received, what right has one to make them an excuse for separation when organic unity is so plainly enjoined?" An escape from the dilemma is found in the assertion that the organic unity of the Church is spiritual,

not affected by separation into denominations which result from differing views of secondary although still important matters. This escape is hardly open to one who believes that episcopal government is of divine origin—that the Apostles, sent of Christ, in his name organized his Church with the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons.

The Episcopalian who is such through conviction, not through preference, while constrained by the love of Christ to love all those who show by their lives the indwelling of his Spirit, is also constrained by obedience to mark those who cause divisions and avoid them. It does not belong to him to decide how far others may violate God's ordering without losing the blessings of the Christian covenant; he must be anxious to maintain himself, and to lead others to submit to the rule which—taking the lowest estimate—is most conformed to the will of God as shown by the practice of the early Church.

The American Sunday-School Union is still an influential corporation; but now all the denominations, whether or not they support this Union, have their own separate organizations.

From the beginning, despite the charge of being bigoted, the greater number of Episcopal Sunday-schools united in local or diocesan societies, composed of Episcopalians only, on the principle that the ignorant and children are to be guided by the Church in ways that lead to the full acceptance of God's teaching.

The New York society was organized in 1817. At an earlier date a diocesan Bible and Prayer Book Society, and a Tract Society had been founded on the same principle, viz., that the Church is the centre and origin of all efforts for the spread of the Gospel, so that the effort which does not lead to the Church is not in accordance with God's plan. Without a doubt these societies and other kindred associations of the time were in the main due to the far-seeing wisdom and churchly zeal of Bishop Hobart, who was con-

secrated in 1811, and had before been an influential member of the diocese.

It is believed that in the beginning Sunday-schools, in which too often they who themselves need instruction are led by pious zeal to undertake the office of teachers, did not commend themselves to his sober judgment; but he saw that he could not prevent their formation, that it was in his power only to attempt to suppress the evil and to develop the good; he therefore placed himself at the head of the diocesan institution, and always took great interest in all that concerned the Church's schools. His view of the Church was not diocesan; therefore he endeavored to secure for the American Church the benefit of co-operation—the forming of a Protestant Episcopal Sunday-School Union. To this end he made use of his young friend Whittingham, then a resident at the Seminary, who was fitted for the work not only by his zealous temperament and his readiness to labor in any way indicated by his bishop, but also by the experience of a number of years during which he had given much thought to the special needs of Sunday-schools and the best mode of conducting them. It may provoke a smile to say this of one who in a court of law would have been styled an infant; yet it is true. When he was first chaplain to the Charity School, he wrote that he had the experience of a seven-year's service as a teacher, a term long enough to make one a veteran. He was never a pupil. Had the schools been then what they are now, it may be doubted whether his training would have been different from what it was. He was taught by his parents, and catechised in open church by his rector—the Church's mode. When fourteen he became a teacher, and was such continuously to the time of his ordination. During his second year at the Seminary he, together with an older student, named Yvonet, established a school in Jersey City, which must have been kept up by a good deal of hard work. After some months he was driven off the field by what in his diary he feelingly

complains of as "the wiles of ———" (a rival religious body). Later he was engaged in missionary work of the seminary students which, with the growth of the city around the Seminary, grew into the parish Church of St. Peter's. He was also superintendent of the Sunday-school of Zion Church, which was under him the largest school in the city, numbering fifty-six teachers and six hundred scholars.

The need of an institution which could claim the support of all Episcopalians interested in Sunday-schools, and secure to the Church the benefit of concerted action, was generally felt. After an extended correspondence among those engaged in diocesan societies, it was determined to attempt to form a general Union at the time of the session of the General Convention in Philadelphia in 1826. Accordingly, on November 11th, a meeting of members of the convention and others was called for the purpose of "devising a method of concentrating and aiding the operation of Sunday-schools and Sunday-school societies in the Church." Bishop White presided at the meeting. A committee was appointed to consider the expediency of forming such a society, and, if found expedient, to report a constitution. Three days later, at an adjourned meeting, a constitution was reported which was adopted, together with resolutions directing the publication of an explanatory circular by a committee who should also pursue prompt and efficient measures for the further organization of the society. Mr. W. R. Whittingham was made a member of this committee, and on him as its secretary, and the secretary of the society, fell the duty of writing the contemplated circular. His correspondence shows that he had in the religious papers, as well as by private letters, earnestly advocated the society the objects of which he was now to "explain and enforce." Interest in its success had alone brought him to Philadelphia.

By its constitution the presiding bishop is president of

the society. Bishop White accepted the office and filled it during his life. It is worthy of note that in 1791 Bishop White had been one of the founders of the Philadelphia Society for the Support and Institution of First-day or Sunday-schools—the aims of which were like to those of Raikes, and the means the same—probably the first incorporated institution of the kind in America.

Bishop Meade says of the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday-School Union: "It was purely a voluntary society. Some wished to have it under the auspices of the General Convention, but that was objected to." There are doubtless good reasons why such an institution should not claim the authority of the Church. But no voluntary society could be placed more under the control of the rulers of the Church.

Not all who were gratified by the forming of the Union hoped for the same results. Bishop Meade, then a presbyter, procured the recommendation of the society by the Diocesan Convention of Virginia; but he thought only that inasmuch as "The American Sunday-School Union and the American Tract Society—noble institutions—could not supply certain books setting forth the peculiarities of the different denominations in connection with the Gospel, it was therefore desirable that Episcopalians, as well as others, should have some organization for supplying such." A few months sufficed to convince him that what was "distinctly understood" at the establishment of the society could not be kept. In fact, while desirous to avoid giving offence to any school of thought in the Church, it did not consider itself to be a mere adjunct to the American Sunday-School Union. Mr. Meade wrote to Mr. Whittingham, whom he styles "the chief manager," protesting against certain publications, one of them being a catechism by Bishop Hobart. The correspondence between these gentlemen was long, frank, and very courteous on both sides. The secretary failed to remove the prejudice that had been excited. Bishop Meade,

who was the leader of the evangelical school, from this time ceased to feel any interest in the General Union Society. From his letters to the secretary, which in many respects are interesting, one extract is given in order to show the character of the man, who was a decided Episcopalian, in so far that praying for himself and other bishops he was bold to say before God, "Thou knowest that ours is no common office, but the highest in Thy glorious Church on earth, and that the honor of Thy Son and the salvation of immortal souls are connected with it."

He writes:

> I am not given to nice speculations in doctrines which have always been discussed in the Christian world, having neither heart nor head for them; but in one thing I am immovably fixed to do my utmost to resist and hold up to public odium—anything like intolerance toward opinions and practices (although I may neither hold the one nor observe the other) which pious and sensible people have believed to be promotive of true religion.

After years of indifference to what he calls the New York Society, Bishop Meade's indignation, and that of other bishops, was roused to opposition. It was charged that the publications of the General Society had an increasing tractarian tendency. In 1846, in answer to a demand made, a copy of every publication of the Union was sent to every bishop, in order that each might examine for himself and judge of the character of the instruction given. The little library which Bishop Meade received he placed in the hands of a young clergyman (a relative, brought up in the Virginia school), with the charge to read the books, classify them, and give to him a statement of the contents of those which taught erroneous doctrine. The young man obeyed, read the books, and, to his kinsman's great indignation, accepted the teaching it was intended he should refute and became a High Churchman. In 1847 the Evangelical Knowledge Society was founded, with Bishop Meade as its president.

Mr. Whittingham returned to New York after the meetings in Philadelphia in 1826, glad of the position with which he had been honored, ready to be spent—and he was very nearly spent—in the labor of tending the lambs of Christ, than which he never knew any more worthy object for which a man could give his strength. Not that he deemed Sunday-school teaching the highest aim of a Christian, but he always placed the training of the young above exhorting and seeking to reclaim, or even edifying the adult. This assertion is justified by the following extracts from a sermon preached by the Bishop of Maryland on St. Peter's day, on the occasion of the Quarter Centennial Anniversary of the Union:

Three times the apostle was bidden by the Chief Shepherd to feed his flock. . . . "He saith unto him" once, and "again the second time," and "the third time," "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" But the first time He did not only ask him, Lovest thou me? but said, Lovest thou me *more than these?* . . . "Lovest thou me *more?*" then "feed"—not, as the other times, my sheep—but "my lambs," . . . for that time only bidding him, because he loves, to feed, but because he loves *more* to feed the *lambs* of the flock. Not the great ones, not the mighty or the wise, the noble or the distinguished, are to be the pre-eminent trust of the disciple pre-eminent in his love—but the lambs of the flock, because he is pre-eminent, are to be his charge. . . . Beyond question, the first charge of our Lord to Peter teaches us no less than that *the care of the lambs of the flock of Christ is the first duty of his Church,* and *pre-eminently the work of love.*

Lovest thou me more? then "feed my lambs." What treasures of love enshroud themselves in that one word of tenderness? *My lambs*—the little ones whom I seek in their helplessness, and rescue from the devourer, and gather in mine arms of mercy, and carry in my bosom to cherish and nurture for myself. *My* lambs, whom my blood has purchased to be my own peculiar possession, whom I have numbered with my people, and sealed with the signet of my love, and called by my Name, and washed from their birth-pollution, and clothed with mine own righteousness to present to my Father as heirs of the heavenly blessing. My *lambs*, whom I, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, deign to make partakers of my

sacrifice, and to offer with myself, and to invest with my spotless innocence, and prepare to be my followers in lowliness, and harmlessness, and meek endurance, and guileless simplicity and love.

Take these and feed them with food convenient for them—adapted to their age and needs. Give them the sincere milk of the word that they may grow thereby. Teach them the truth in its simplicity. Train them in love in its purity and perfectness. But teach them *my* truth and train them in *my* love. The word of my Gospel, as it comes from me, its means and provisions as I have instituted and furnished them, are the birthright of my little ones. Rob them not of their due nourishment, and by weak compliance with man's devices, which will eat as doth a canker and starve or poison while they pretend to feed. Treat my lambs as *mine*, not *yours*, and give them what I have provided for them: not the mingled food of compromise between truth and error, compounded strangely of the things heard of faithful men among many witnesses and the profane and vain babblings of those that oppose themselves.

It is hard to say whether there is more irreligion or false philosophy in the modern invention of a religion of fundamentals for the young, to be taught until they come of age to add on for themselves the superstructure of a choice among the thousand conflicting opinions and professions by which the face of Christendom is seamed and scarred. . . . Who made us judges and dividers to say what shall be insisted on and what not of all that God has taught us and done for us? Who gave us the right to lay aside what we find in the word of truth and say that our children can do without it? . . . It is not as His lambs that they are fed unless they are taught to know His fold, and the Shepherd's voice, and how to distinguish His green pasture from the poisonous herb and stinging nettle.

On these grounds, brethren, was our Sunday-School Union established a quarter of a century ago. . . . Few know, because few have taken the trouble to inform themselves, how much, how very much, of the extraordinary prosperity of the Church during the quarter century of the existence of the Sunday-School Union is attributable to the quiet but extensive and incessant agency of that institution in . . . imparting the truth of God in its entireness and the discipline of Christ in its sincerity. . . . With variety of opinion within the Church it has nought to do. . . . The mind of the Church *as embodied in the Prayer Book* is exclusively its standard, not of *opinion* but of *principle*. Its aim is to furnish helps for the inculcation of that mind and for its development, in sufficient

quantity and variety to enable all to select from among them such as each in his peculiarity of preference shall incline to use. With steadiness and success that aim has been carried out.

Of those who had laid the foundation for that influence in the Church of which, after twenty-five years of quiet success of the society, Bishop Whittingham speaks with the confidence of one who had "taken the trouble to inform himself," no one was more efficient than he when deacon, and still earlier, when waiting to be old enough for orders. It is true that nothing could be done in the way of beginning or continuing the work of the society without the approval of the executive committee, and the head of that committee being Bishop Hobart, it need not be said that approval was not a formality, that everything received episcopal scrutiny, so that "not a scrap of the pen ever passed the press without his approbation." Yet the labor of preparing everything that was submitted for this approbation belonged to the secretary. He prepared the system of instruction, and everything that was necessary for conducting Sunday-schools, together with all books intended for libraries and for rewards. This involved the reading countless children's books, and sometimes the changing some in accordance with the direction of the committee. He also wrote some books of instruction, notably questions on the Epistles and Gospels, with scriptural proofs; work easily underestimated because of its modest pretensions, yet extended through a long time, and that demanded much care. The correspondence connected with the establishment of the Union was of necessity large, and in addition to what especially belonged to his office, it fell to the secretary to attend to "all matters" except the sale of books and receipt of money.

In 1827, when Mr. Whittingham was chaplain of the Charity School, he became editor of *The Family Visitor*, a fortnightly periodical, and of *The Children's Magazine*, a

smaller monthly that the committee had undertaken to publish. This insured not only all the troublesome duties of an editor, but also nearly every kind of manual labor, for which others would have been paid. In every position that he ever held it was his impulse to do not only all that his own duty required of him, but also that which others ought to have done. His engagements too were cumulative; those he had formed with the Sunday-School Union did not cancel any others.

In April, 1828, Mr. Whittingham was appointed agent of the Union, with instructions "to visit the cities and principal towns in the United States, for the purpose of disseminating information," etc. The following letter from his bishop will show the nature of his credentials, and also afford an insight into his own boyish nature:

MAY 1, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR:

The enclosed will answer the purpose of a letter of introduction to every person whom you may wish to see relative to your business, and will supersede the necessity of your letters of orders, as it will prove not only that you are a clergyman, but a most worthy one. And your modesty *must* not prevent your using it in *every case*, even with persons whom you may know. This is proper in order to show your authority, and you may say it was my particular request that you should show it. I hope you will return with firmer health; you will with increased knowledge of men and things; but I don't know whether you well can with greater zeal for the advancement of the kingdom of your Lord and Master. To His protection and blessing I commend you, and am

Most truly yours,

J. H. HOBART.

To the Rev. Mr. WHITTINGHAM.

His first visit was to Philadelphia, where he spent a month—often, despite the kindness and aid extended to him by the clergy generally—in weariness of spirit because his enthusiasm was not shared, and in weariness of

body * after tramping long distances to obtain scanty help. The report of the executive committee, whose agent he was, speaking of his visits to Philadelphia and elsewhere, says:

> Everywhere he has been received with the utmost kindness; has visited many schools; imparted valuable information; has created an interest in our Union hitherto unknown; and has received flattering testimonials † of approbation from the several conventions visited.

But he was not equal to the ungrateful task of personal begging. "To reap the harvest of the good seed sown by him," Mr. Van Ingen, his near friend, was associated with him.

In a letter to his "Mother, *in the utmost confidence*," he relates the impression produced by his first sermon in Philadelphia, written after having heard from the rector, on the preceding Friday, the character of the fashionable congregation he was to address.

> In the morning, by engagement, I visited the Sunday-school with Dr. M. I addressed the scholars briefly, then the teachers, and then examined the several classes and taught the teachers the use of our system. Then came the service by Dr. M. and I preached. The congregation was uncommonly large, the most fashionable in Philadelphia. Among them was the great Henry Clay, the British agent, Vaughan the British envoy or ambassador, etc. I told the truth as plainly as I knew how, even declaring solemnly that I thought the rich needed Sunday-schools more than the poor, that their neglect of religious education was a crying sin, etc., etc. Yet, my dear mother, you do not know the trouble this has brought me into. Clay was pleased to attend to me remarkably, and to express his warm approbation of my sermon; of course the rest all took their tone from him, and I never was in more danger than I am now. I

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* A home letter dated May 6th says: "The thermometer stood on Sunday at 82 and to-day at 85. Notwithstanding I have trudged about the city, till yesterday my feet actually soaked my stockings with blood, and to-day, though somewhat better, are sore enough."

† Of these flattering testimonials his letters and diary say nothing.

am flattered. Invitations crowd on me. I do not know what to do with myself. Yet these same people, when I go about begging from house to house (oh, what a miserable task!), give me a poor five dollars, or say they are too poor (so one man worth $150,000 told me) to be able to give anything. Yet they show me that they value my sermon, which makes the matter ten times worse.

On June 3d Mr. Whittingham left Philadelphia for Baltimore on his way to Annapolis to attend the Diocesan Convention, going by the way of New Castle and French Town. From Annapolis he wrote to the family at home of the impressions made upon him by his first acquaintance with the city with which he was in after-life to be associated, and by his journey thence by stage coach. His description of Baltimore will be hardly recognized as true in all respects, and it may be safely said that those who are familiar with the road over which he was driven will be apt to attribute his enjoyment to the enthusiasm of early life and a strong love of nature. He writes:

We arrived at Baltimore at a quarter before three. I had been up some time and took advantage of the brightness of the moon (which I had seen rising on the Chesapeake at twelve o'clock) to commence at that hour of the night a perambulation of the city. Alone, without a guide, I ventured up and down its streets and lanes and found my way to most of its public buildings, among the rest to the post office, where I deposited my letter to commence its journey to New York at six. Returning to the steamboat about half-after four, I awoke Mr. Weller and commenced with him another perambulation, visiting the two monuments, St. Paul's, the Romish Cathedral, the Unitarian meeting-house, etc., etc. The situation of Baltimore I think really charming. Its hills and valleys, the distant view of the bay, the nearer view of a multitude of small streams, the irregularity of the buildings, the many trees, etc., give it much beauty and interest in my eyes. But I can tell you more of this, however, when I return, as to-morrow and the next day are to be spent in Baltimore. Breakfasting at half-past five, we set out at six in the Annapolis stage. . . . The ride of thirty-three miles was in every respect truly agreeable. The roads were rough, but this increased the interest. The country was new to me and very agreeably

diversified with woods, hills, dales, wheat fields, pine barrens, gardens, etc. The trees were, many of them, new to me: such as the willow oak, white gum, black gum, etc., and some old acquaintances appeared in all their glory; *e.g.*, the American laurel [*Kalmia*], dogwood, magnolia, sweetbriar, and rosa Americana centifolia were in full bloom and the woods were full of them, especially the first and last but one. The strong scent of the magnolia and sweetbriar perfumed many hundred yards around them, and partly from their effect, partly from that of large fields of the sweet white clover, we rode almost all the way in the enjoyment of delicious perfume. About six miles from Annapolis another novelty attracted my attention. For about one mile the sides of the road were thickly clothed with the true Scotch broom, and its lively foliage and pretty strings of yellow flowers were a very agreeable surprise. Its appearance fully justifies the praises bestowed on it in the popular Scotch ditties. To complete my list of the pleasures of this ride, I must tell you that larkspurs, columbines, violets, and foxgloves in full bloom were as common on the roadside as daisies and buttercups are with us.

Anne Arundel must have put on her best dress to greet her future bishop, whose path of life, in long after-years, was anything but one leading through sweet-smelling flower-beds. The broom spoken of was sown by a provincial governor as protection for small game.

His reception in Annapolis was very gratifying. Among the pleasant things never forgotten was the meeting with Mr. Magruder, of whom he says: "I rejoice to have formed an intimacy with him, which I trust only the death of one or other party will dissolve." The opportunity was given, which he sought, of preaching before the convention on the subject of his mission. On this occasion, as regarded his manner of preaching so as to impress his Southern audience, he suffered himself to be guided by the kind advice of the rector, Mr. Blanchard, who had taken him to his house as a guest during his stay.

At this convention a fruitless attempt was made to elect a bishop; Drs. Wyatt and John Johns being the candidates respectively of the High and the Low Church parties.

Mr. Whittingham had heard in Philadelphia that prob-

ably a compromise candidate would be Dr. Turner, of the seminary; and from what he heard from members of the convention, he was persuaded that had the doctor been nominated he would have been elected. In that case, very probably, an opening would have been made at the Seminary for the deacon to whom already Bishop Hobart had suggested a chair of ecclesiastical history. But Dr. Turner was not nominated, and the dreams of a home in the Seminary, if they had been indulged in, were dissipated. His diary shows that he was much interested in watching the struggles, not in convention only, of the two parties which were then very strongly marked. His "conviction was strong and decided that the true principles of our Church are growing rapidly and taking firm root in this the most disaffected diocese. The prospect is in the highest degree encouraging, although some hard struggles must yet be gone through before the latitudinarian principles can be thoroughly put down."

After a stay of two days in Baltimore Mr. Whittingham rejoined Mr. Van Ingen, who had been "eminently successful" during their separation, and then returned to New York.

On June 16th he again left home for a brief visit to Boston and Hartford. In Boston he attended the convention. Despite the lack of any marked success in his mission, he found "great cause for gratitude in the spread of the *true evangelical* principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Massachusetts," and instances two prominent men, now "decidedly and avowedly staunch members of our Church and maintainers of her peculiarities," who two years before had established a missionary society in St. Paul's Church auxiliary to the American Board of Foreign Missions, and one of whom had been one of the founders of the Massachusetts Sunday-School Union of all denominations. He speaks of enlightening one clergyman who objected to the Union of which he was agent "because all the

books were written by Bishop Hobart," the *bête noire* with all evangelicals of that day.

After his return from New England the remainder of the year was spent in the discharge of routine duties, interrupted only by the invitation to and acceptance of the Cheshire Academy in October. The cause of the abandonment of the proposed extended tour throughout the country as agent is intimated by the following resolution of the executive committee, passed about this time:

Resolved, That the committee are deeply sensible of the great importance of the duty, both to himself and to this Union, of preserving the health of Mr. Whittingham, and that he be, and hereby is, respectfully requested to suspend the business of his agency for the present, to adopt such means for the benefit of his health as he may think will best promote that object; and that when he shall feel himself justified in resuming the agency, he will perform its duties under the directions of the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart, who is hereby invested with full authority for that purpose.

The society found relief from pressure through "the munificent bequest of the late Frederick Kohne, Esq., of Philadelphia."

In March, 1829, Mr. Whittingham again spent a few days in Philadelphia attending to Sunday-school business, with no results to be noticed; but in his diary he mentions an incident which may be quoted.

As the one known instance that Bishop White's placidity was capable of being disturbed, the story has been told of how a debtor paid the good prelate in worthless Continental money, and how the indignant creditor called to his maid-servant, "See this man out of the house; and look well to your silver spoons as he passes the dining-room." Mr. Whittingham gives another proof that he could on a proper occasion be duly severe. "The bishop told me of H.'s application to him for dimissory letters, and how he had proceeded. Among other things he said that when H. asked what bearing this would have on his future condition

and proceedings, he (Bishop W.) had declined giving his opinion or advice, saying that 'there had been a time when he could have *thought aloud* to his brethren, but he had lately been severely taught to use caution with *some*.' It was really affecting to hear the old man speak so, remembering the train of circumstances which it brought into view."

Soon after this Mr. Whittingham's health utterly broke down, as has been related, and he was constrained to resign, together with all other engagements in the city, his secretaryship; retaining, however, the editorship of *The Family Visitor* and of *The Children's Magazine*, which—the former so long as it was published, and the latter for many years—were chiefly maintained by the contributions and selections of Mr. Whittingham, his mother, and his sisters. His resignation of the office of secretary of the Union is dated May 25, 1829. Bishop White wrote to him a very kind letter expressing his regret both for the fact and for the cause. The board of managers passed a resolution in which it expressed

"its high sense of the great value of his services, and of the Christian fidelity and disinterestedness which led to a continuance of those services to a longer period than might be justified by a due regard to his health."

The executive committee, announcing his resignation in their annual report, say:

The time was when no other individual in our Church could have so successfully been the chief instrument in carrying forward the operations of this society. Possessed of a vast fund of practical and experimental knowledge on the subject of Sunday-school instruction, he was singularly qualified for the formation of a "system of instruction" adapted to general use; his talents and industry fitted him in a pre-eminent degree for the preparation of books of instruction adapted to that system; and his devoted attachment—founded upon an intimate and accurate knowledge of her character and claims—to the Church which he adorns, made it with him always

a chief consideration that in this Union, at every point of observation, should be discernible the features of that Church. This difficult and delicate duty he has performed in such a manner as to command an almost universal approbation, and to inspire the highest degree of confidence.

This eulogy confirms the statement of Bishop Meade that in the first years of the General Sunday-School Union Mr. Whittingham was "the chief manager of it."

A sketch of the General Sunday-School Union must find a place in every history of the American Church, so decided has been its influence at a critical period when, deceived by false liberality, many were ready to sacrifice what alone justifies her existence. A very brief sketch of the origin of the Union would be out of place in the Life of one who very nearly gave his life for its foundation. Whether what was gained through the labors of the first secretary and agent might not have been secured without the cost paid we cannot tell: martyrdom is sometimes essential to success.

Saying what he was able to say in his sermon on the twenty-fifth anniversary, one such as the bishop did not begrudge what he had given. What pain and grief it must have been to him not many years after to withdraw his support from the society "part of which he was!" This he did. He had always asserted that the Union could not be the organ of a party. All recognized by the Church were entitled to aid from the Union. But the Prayer Book in its literal significance was with him the sole standard of freedom in the Church. When about to sail for England in 1853 he caused to be placed on the list of books kept on sale "The Sacrament of Responsibility," a tract which he supposed to do no more than assert the plain teaching of the Prayer Book. After a time the managers of the society erased this tract from their list, yielding to an outcry against increasing tractarianism. A protest on the part of the bishop having been without avail, he withdrew his support, and was never again known as one of its officers. An

effort having been made in 1871 to regain his influence, he wrote:

BALTIMORE, March 29, 1871.

To the Rev. W. A. Matson, Sec. Gen. P. E. S. S. U. and Ch. Book Society—

MY DEAR DOCTOR:

It is very painful to me to have to refuse the association of my name with those of the honored and beloved brethren whose testimonials you send.

You know what my relations to the Sunday-School Union were for a quarter of a century.

But when, after much discussion, the society deliberately compromised its character by striking from its list, and as far as in it lay putting out of circulation, that perfectly unexceptionable and most useful tract, "The Sacrament of Responsibility," I firmly resolved that I would have nothing more to do with an institution that had given up its trust, and, as I viewed it, cowardly, meanly, and dishonestly truckled to a partisan clamor for the sake of popularity.

I can in no way help or recommend the society so long as that wrong remains unacknowledged and unredressed.

Mr. Sadler's works are, in my judgment, almost equal in worth to all the other publications of the Union put together. Until the Union is able to give its best efforts to the circulation of their invaluable teaching, I regard it as too weakly a thing to fill the place it pretends to in church work.

Respectfully and affectionately,

Your friend and brother,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

CHAPTER V.

ORANGE.

1829–1830.

In accordance with his manner of seeing God's hand governing all the events of his life, Mr. Whittingham received as a providential deliverance the proposal which was made to him the day after it became evident that he could no longer bear the burden of his many engagements.

Orange, now almost a continuation of Newark, and like Newark itself an adjunct of New York, was then a country village. It is situated at the foot of a low mountain, from which there is a charming view of the city and of the waters which have made New York what it is, and of its more distant surroundings.

In this village and its immediate neighborhood there was a small number of families of devoted churchmen, chiefly persons who had been forced to abandon the religious bodies in which they had been trained, and to become churchmen through conviction. During three or four years they had been under the care of Mr. Whittingham's classmate, the Rev. Benjamin Holmes, who had been sent to Orange as a missionary. In 1827 they had been incorporated as the Parish of St. Mark's, and had at once taken measures for the erection of a church, the foundation-stone of which was laid May 12, 1828, and which was consecrated on February 20th following. The building was of brown sand-stone, and its site is commanding. Happily the plan was such that it was in time readily enlarged. It must

always have had a pleasing effect; now, with its adjoining school-house and lecture-room and its parsonage, it marks the prosperity of the congregation, and even in this day of improved church architecture is an ornament to Orange.

Mr. Holmes had also formed a congregation and built a church in Morristown, and besides these two churches had under his care two missionary stations. In Orange and in Morristown the congregations had so grown as to feel entitled to the undivided attentions of a pastor. Mr. Holmes was conscious that he must soon resign one or the other; and as each desired to retain him, he was doubtful which he should give up. He had already consulted his classmate concerning a suitable successor, when the sudden and utter failure of his friend's health prompted the suggestion that he should himself take the place to be vacated, and the choice of either was offered to him. The matter was submitted to Bishop Hobart. Obliged to part with his deacon, *καρδία τε καὶ ψυχὴ*,* the bishop chose for him Orange, because nearer to New York.

Mr. Whittingham visited Orange in company with his friend; was pleased with all he saw of the place and with the parishioners whom he called on; and the prompt result was that he received from the vestry an invitation to officiate for them until such time as he could be ordained priest and instituted as their rector. With the permission of Bishop Hobart he accepted the invitation, and was duly transferred to the jurisdiction of Bishop Croes, of New Jersey.

He removed to Orange early in June, 1829. The change at once infused new vigor into his frame and relieved the oppression which had long been on his spirits. It is pleasing to read the tokens of the benefit. He was now for the first time in an independent position—that is, under his diocesan, principal in his own field of labor.

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* The Apostolic Constitutions say: "Εστω ὁ διάκονος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀκοὴ καὶ ὀφθαλμος καὶ στόμα, καρδία τε καὶ ψυχὴ. The relation here enjoined does not often exist as closely as it did between Whittingham and his bishop.

ORANGE, June 11, 1829.

DEAR MOTHER:

According to my promise, although it is growing late and I am sleepy, and wish to rise early in the morning to set out for Morristown to bring down Holmes, yet I will scratch a line to let you know how I am. I have every reason to be delighted with my situation as far as my short experience can justify me in forming an opinion. The beauty of the country, the character of the people, the situation, etc., of my residence, and the kindness of the family, all combine to render me happy as far as such things can give happiness. To explain my hasty note to Pa. Holmes promised to come and visit around with me on Friday and Saturday, if he could get a conveyance up on Sunday. He, being no longer pastor here, does not like to ask the favor, and I do not like to begin such things yet. So I have no other way but to go to New York for help, where I have always found the will to give it. I suppose you will not dislike to see Orange, my residence, the family, my church, nor to hear my first sermon to my people, nor to commune in my church, nor to go to Morris and see H.'s little church and hear him preach, and enjoy the delightful scenery. Nor do I think that even Pa will altogether dislike these things. The vehicle must be a light wagon, not a gig, as there will be three to go on from here to Morris. . . .

Your affectionate son,

W. R. W.

Father and mother gave him the pleasure he had asked of them. On the 20th he wrote to Holmes:

I am at last settled and to rights, and both neatly and most comfortably. My room contains my books, etc., as if it had been built on purpose, and is like a little palace, to my taste at least. My health is better this week than last, and, I think, improving.

The entry in his diary for the 10th, the day after his removal to Orange, is much fuller than usual.

Evening.—Walked up the mountain, taking with me my sketch [of his first sermon]. An hour of the most complete enjoyment I have ever received. The wild mountain road overhung with deep woods, crossed and bordered by trickling rills and skirting the brow of considerable hills, or traversing deep glades—the view of the glorious sunlight on the opposite side of the Orange Valley, on the

white buildings of the spires, on the rivers and Newark Bay, and in the far distance on the city spires—contrasted with the deep shade of the side of the mountain on which I stood (where the sun had set before I commenced my walk), and last of all the overtaking the sun on the mountain top, and the distant view of the mountain back of Morris, twenty miles distant, altogether wrought me up to a pitch which no other natural scenery had ever excited. My thoughts ran wild. But when, in descending, I turned aside into the bare field on the mountain brow and got a full view of the whole amphitheatre—Orange in the second foreground with its fine church and pretty houses thickly clustered through a mile in length—immediately in front the valley with our little temple and the houses of my parishioners scattering up toward the corner—to the left the Belleville Valley opening through the high grounds and terminated by the Paterson Mountain—to the right the heights of Staten Island, with a glimpse of the Kills as they widen into Amboy Bay—behind Orange the two spires of Newark just peeping up from among the trees—then the other bank of the Passaic—then extending all along to the right Newark Bay, and to the left Snake Hill and Hackensack—beyond this again the heights of Bergen, the little steeple of the church just discernible, continued down on the right, in a lower range, as Bergen Neck—still more in the distance the houses of the northwest part of New York, with its tall spires, and as a noble background the hills of Long Island back of Williamsburgh—O! it was a glorious scene! Add to this the reflections connected with the bird's-eye view of the scene of the future labors, I hope, of my life, on which I am entering with no dependence but the grace of God; it lifted my heart in praise and prayer with fervor seldom felt before. If these are the privileges of a country residence, oh, who would live in town?

The first words written in his diary the day before are: "I now, having commenced my residence intended to be permanent, begin anew my journal," etc. In this outburst of enthusiasm—which must surprise one by his minute knowledge and recognition of places which he had never before looked on from that point of view—he repeats the hope that he was entering on the labors of his life. And yet within eighteen months he had resigned the privileges of a residence in the country and had returned to a life in town. Whatever may have caused the change, it was not

lightness of purpose; it was not because he sought the change. Even as his being in Orange was not because of his "going to sojourn where he might find a place," like "the son of Gershom, the son of Moses," so he was not ready to follow the first call to a wider sphere of usefulness, after the example of the same first schismatic. During his stay in Orange, Mr. Whittingham had four different positions offered him: One in Philadelphia, two in Maryland, and one in Newark, New Jersey. His acceptance of the invitation to the church in Newark was urged upon him not only by the vestry, but by the unanimous voice of the congregation, and it was an invitation which peculiar circumstances made especially attractive to him; but a sense of duty bade him stay where he was. If he remained in his first parish no longer than does many another young clergyman, he yet entered upon his duties as if they were to be lifelong. These duties were not confined to those who constituted his congregation, but he "offered to preach on week-day evenings at Camptown, Jeffersonville, or any other neighboring place where it might be desired;" and he did so whenever the opportunity presented. A letter shows that a proposal was made by Mr. Holmes—"Let us go to ———, spend the week in preaching wherever and as often as we can get people to listen to us, and on Sunday exchange pulpits." In the midst of a community where his very presence was considered to be aggressive, and where his success called for the announcement of a course of doctrinal lectures intended as a preservative against his influence, it would have been natural had the High Church deacon felt himself bound to be controversial. "Some people wondered that he was not." His own judgment was expressed to his mother:

As I must answer to my God, I dare not pass by the greater matters I see so much needed by my people. But preaching, good or bad, does comparatively little. The line upon line—here a little, there a little—the word in season and out of season, this is most effective.

And this he faithfully attempted to render. He sought constantly opportunity for instruction and exhortation in private, and in modes other than by words he endeavored to turn from ways of temptation those for whose souls he felt responsible to his Master. Some of the ways that he considered to be dangerous are, by many churchmen, no longer thought to be so. If they fear worldliness, they scorn puritanism.

An incident will mark how he felt the burden of responsibility. In December he had been on a preaching tour through drizzling rain and over the roughest roads, "excessively cold so as to be scarcely able to stand." At 9 P.M. he reached Newark on his way back. He writes:

> Went immediately to Mr. Condit's. Tea there. Oh, how thankful was I that I had made the forced march of this day, against my previous arrangements, when I was told that Dunbar was dead and to be buried to-morrow! Never was any intelligence more unexpected or more shocking. Set out at ten. Walked up through deeper mud than I ever walked in, and in perfect mental agony. How shall I meet him at the bar of God? was my question, and how could I answer it? Arrived at eleven, bathed in perspiration and exhausted by my mental and bodily fatigue. Tossed through a sleepless night, praying for pardon and assistance.

Almost his first care was to establish a Sunday-school, which grew to be a large one, and in which, to his great joy, he was assisted by twenty of his congregation as teachers. The teachers were his assistants; the responsibility rested on him as pastor of the little ones, and no duty was more faithfully attended to than care for the early training of his flock. He was always present in the school. Among the scholars there were twenty or thirty blacks, chiefly adults; these he took under his own more especial instruction. For the negro he seems always to have had a tender feeling. When a student in the Seminary, he wrote to an aunt who was then living in South Carolina to be careful to do all she could for the religious instruction of the slaves; to "re-

member that though their skins are black their souls are white;" and his correspondence with others shows an interest in their condition. Now he first came in personal relation with them. Soon after he had gained the confidence of the family with whom he lived he began—and so long as he remained in Orange kept up—the practice of having in the early morning a special service for the slaves, with which he combined a brief instruction. Among the first whom he baptized and prepared for confirmation was a slave taught at first in the presence of his young master. The fact that it was in the presence of the master is stated because it is noted in his diary. It is not to be supposed that there was any fear of abolition teaching which was felt to be a danger further South. In New Jersey slavery was dying out. By an Act of the Legislature of 1820, all born after July 4, 1804, were freed, males at the age of twenty-five, females when twenty-one years old. Slavery was maintained by law chiefly for the sake of the dependant negro and for the protection of the country against the multiplying of paupers.

Besides the Sunday-school, he had on one day in the week his Bible class—part of the time two different classes—for which he prepared himself, perhaps, more carefully than he did for the pulpit. The result of this faithful diligence was that his congregation increased rapidly. He found thirteen communicants; before he was made priest they numbered thirty-one. The register shows, for the size of his church, many baptisms, and there were many not entered on the register, being conditional. Orange was a Presbyterian settlement. A few years before Mr. Holmes had made his appearance among them as a missionary, and in Mr. Whittingham's time the first Methodist society was formed. Now, Presbyterians accept only ministerial baptism. On this principle baptisms by a deacon ordained by a bishop without the laying on of hands of his presbytery, have been formally rejected by Presbyterians in this coun-

try. It is natural that persons trained in this teaching, when convinced of the necessity of Episcopal ordination, should doubt the validity of the baptism received by them as the children of Presbyterian parents. No sooner did Mr. Whittingham become the minister in Orange than at least half a dozen persons presented their doubts and asked his advice. Among his earliest entries in his diary is the note of various conferences on this subject. He writes: "I declined giving any advice, but expressed my perfect willingness to act on their previous decision." But there was on his part more than a willingness to baptize such applicants. In common with a school in the Anglican communion, he held that even supposing that the Church has authorized her laity to baptize in cases where a minister cannot be had, yet those out of her pale cannot have been so empowered.

The Index will point out one or more letters which express fully his opinions on the subject of lay baptism.

When Mr. Whittingham first went to Orange there was a probability of his having to decline the invitation informally given him because of the difficulty in obtaining board with a room large enough to hold him and his books. This hindrance was removed by the offer of Mr. Caleb Harrison to receive the clergyman into his family, an arrangement unwillingly assented to by the ladies of the household. Mr. Harrison was the quasi squire of the village, the hospitable entertainer, with a house always full. His family during several generations had been large land-owners in the neighborhood. An open-handed, generous man, he with his brother had been among the largest subscribers to the building fund of the church, and besides he had given all the stone needed, and without cost to the church had boarded all the workmen engaged on the building.

In Mr. Harrison's family Mr. Whittingham found not only a happy home for the time, but the woman who was to affect his happiness during half a century, and who in

his eyes ever remained the most lovely of women. From their first acquaintance he had been won by the attractions of Hannah, the eldest of Mr. Harrison's daughters. Admiration soon changed to a warmer sentiment, and on the day on which he was twenty-four he made to her an offer of his hand, which, after some hesitation on his account, was accepted.

On December 17, 1829, being Thursday after the third Sunday in Advent, Mr. Whittingham was advanced to the priesthood by the Rt. Rev. John Croes, Bishop of New Jersey. The report of this event is very brief.

Sermon preached by bishop. I was then presented for ordination to the priesthood by Holmes. Hands were laid on by Rev. Messrs. Noble, Powers, Holmes, J. Croes, and Schroeder. Father and mother and Sister Eliza were present. Schroeder and Haight had most kindly come uninvited from New York on purpose. . . . The measure of my joy is filled by the arrangement that M. is to be baptized and to commune, and H. to commune to-morrow.

The day following the bishop instituted him as rector.

Read over "Institution Service." Conversed with Mary respecting her baptism. With H. Preparation of elements. At usual hour service was read by Rev. Mr. Power. (After the second lesson I baptized M. K.) My institution then took place. Holmes preached an excellent and most appropriate sermon. The Holy Communion was then administered for the first time by myself, and M. and H. partook. *O giorno felice!*

The improvement in health, which began with the first removal to Orange, continued during the first six or eight months. In November, 1829, he wrote home:

I am, thank God! in better health than I have enjoyed for years—perhaps I might say within my memory. I daily gain strength and flesh, so that I bid fair to be robust and stout. Not an hour's headache or a single nervous turn have I had since you left. The weather still affects me slightly by causing depression of spirits, but I think less so every day. This day, for instance, is a

decided southeast storm, lowering, close, and, to use an old English word which you perfectly understand, although it would be Dutch to the good people here, muggy. Such is the weather which has at times during the last eighteen months affected me most cruelly. This morning, it is true, I did not feel "work-brittle" (Anglicism again) and had some difficulty in collecting my thoughts, or rather in producing fermentation in my brain. I could have read * with ease and profit, but it was not pleasurable to write. After recourse to the weapon with which Christian so effectually discomfited the fiends in the Valley of the Shadow of Death (*πᾶσα προσευχὴ*, St. Paul calls it) I began to improve, and before dinner had made tolerable progress in a sermon. After dinner resumed it, and then, rain and all, made a visit, and have since then read the periodicals for the week. *Benedic anima mea* shall ever be my song for such and all the thousand other blessings which crown my path.

But change of scene and country living could not work miracles; he had brought with him a tendency to intemperance in labor. With note of renewed health his diary begins again to show such entries as "to bed at three;" and his letters such passages as "I have four sermons to prepare, besides Bible classes." *The Family Visitor* and *The Children's Magazine* were still on his hands, and other work for the Sunday-School Union he undertook, of which he says to his mother:

This extra duty has occupied my time; the more so as it is a work not like letter-writing, but requiring thought and study. Every night but two since I saw you I have been writing till two and a half A.M., and three nights till three and a half.

It is a family tradition that during a friendly visit to him in August Bishop Hobart said to him, "William, it is the act of a fool to undertake to do the work of three men," and yet the trustees of the Church Press, of which the bishop was the head, made an addition to this work.

* We have seen with what books and to what extent he could occupy himself when too sick for work. At such times while in Orange he found refreshment in Sophocles, Horace, Lucian, and Seneca, but his chief solace was Shakespeare.

The "Press" was an incorporated association of New York gentlemen, originally formed because of the necessity of making provision for the publication of the books of the Sunday-School Union. They had extended their plans so as to have in 1829, in their own buildings in the rear of Trinity Church-yard, their printing and binding establishments, sale depository and office, and to have charge of the depositories of the General Sunday-School Union and the Diocesan Sunday-School Society, together with those of the Bible and Prayer-Book Society, and the Tract Society, for all of which societies they did all the printing and binding, as also any other like work for any religious institution of the Church. Animated by success in their charitable undertaking, and anxious to be more useful in meeting a want more felt fifty years ago than now, the trustees, in 1829, issued proposals for the publication by subscription of certain standard church works. To Mr. Whittingham they offered the position of editor with a salary of $500 per annum, $100 for the purchase of books, and $100 for an amanuensis. This offer he gladly accepted February 15th, and notes, "So it is always, just when needed the blessing comes, unsought, and oh! how undeserved." He could now marry, to use his words, "without meanness and without rashness."

Without neglecting any parish duty, without intermitting, so far as his record shows, any habitual reading and study, he entered upon his new literary labor. But before a month had passed he was again prostrated; notice of sick headaches, to which he had been, and continued always to be, subjected, gave place to that of serious illness. Here is a record, much briefer than usual, of three days:

Friday.—Very unwell, fainting several times. Revised "Leslie" in the copy sent by Anthon. Saturday.—Still unwell—fainting at intervals. Revised two sheets of West on the "Resurrection," Bayne's edition. Sunday.—as unwell as before. Several of my congregation called on me. Mr. M. handed me his citation to appear before

the session. [Mr. M. was a Presbyterian who purposed joining St. Mark's.] With advice of —— wrote to the moderator of the session, preserving a copy. P.M.—Rode down with S. to Newark. Three hours at Mr. Condit's. Fainted in carriage. Quite ill all evening.

Like entries are interspersed with notes of reading and of work. At this time Bishop Hobart wrote to him as follows:

NEW YORK, March 24, 1830.

MY VERY DEAR SIR:

I have heard with the greatest possible solicitude of your nervous indisposition, which I am satisfied is produced by over-exertion. This must not be. Pure, zealous, and devoted as you are, you must not carry your fervent and unremitted labors so far as to die early a martyr. I do not hesitate to say that this excessive exertion is a sin; a *sin*, too, like every other, to be branded with *folly;* for what necessity is there for this? Is the appearance of a work a few weeks or months sooner or later to be of any consequence compared with your life or death? for I do not hesitate to say this is a question of life or death to you. By all means break off, and that instantly. If I dared I would command you to do so. Wait much longer and it will be too late. Come over and go with Mr. Van Ingen to Schenectady. Recruit yourself, and then apply yourself *moderately* to your duties. Your moderation would in most men be excess.

Believe me most affectionately yours,

J. H. HOBART.

Rev. Mr. WHITTINGHAM, *Orange.*

The advice given by his revered friend he followed as far as his nature would permit. When strong enough to do so he went to New York to his father's, and after a while to Schenectady—by steamboat to Albany and thence in a stage coach. He returned April 2d "considerably recruited in strength," although he had been absent only three days. He reached New York at 4.30 A.M., and that day he did as much as might have wearied a well man, ending it at one at night.

After this his fainting spells returned, and on Good Friday and on Easter-day it was impossible for him to be in

church. Yet he would not hear of a postponement of his marriage, the time for which, April 15th, Thursday in Easter-week, had been fixed before his prostration. On the 14th Mr. Richard Whittingham visited Orange prepared to forbid the marriage should he think it necessary. He did not do so, but took back to New York with him his son, whose recuperative powers—which were remarkable during all his life—were shown on this occasion, for, having gone as far as Newark in a carriage, he walked thence to Hoboken.

The next day in the evening he was married in St. Mark's Church by the Rev. Benjamin Holmes, for whom a few months previous he had performed the same office.

His journal minutely records the events of the day, and no one of its pages is more a transcript of his thoughts and emotions. But what is there written was written only for himself. There are joys, and not joys only, with which the stranger intermeddleth not. But if the lesson of a life is to be given, how can the manner of that life be shown but by intruding somewhat on privacy? Occasions with which the public have nothing to do may best show how, under no circumstances, did Whittingham forget the end of his being; that he was at all times and in all things fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. He was about to be married; not therefore could he be idle. His dearest earthly hopes were that day to be crowned with God's blessing; the greater reason —so he felt—why God should not be shut out of his thoughts—why he should be diligent in his calling as God's servant.

He had slept in his father's house, beneath the roof under which he was born, when at five and a quarter he began one of the most eventful days of his life by solemnly, and with much happy feeling of self-resignation, committing himself, his interests, temporal and spiritual, and all whom he held dear, to the almighty and all-merciful Father, "confident that He will guide us with his counsel, and after that receive us into glory for *Christ's mercies only*." He then

read the last of Bishop Ravenscroft's sermons, and commented on it. After breakfast he met Mr. Van Ingen at the ferry, and they in a gig went together to Orange, a two-hours' drive. On the way the two earnest Christian friends conferred together on the tests of Christian standing, from St. John, v., 30, "Because I seek not mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me." And also on the power of grace in the destruction of evil tempers, from St. Luke, iv., 33–36, the record of the casting out of devils by the Lord Jesus.

At one o'clock his parents and some of his sisters arrived in Orange, having followed him. With them he spent an hour at the piano, an occupation which had so often given so much of pleasure and profit in the family home. After dining he wrote out a sketch of a sermon on the "Overcoming Evil Dispositions through the Grace of God," thus fixing the thoughts of the forenoon. Then he visited a sick parishioner, and at his request expounded 1 Cor., xv., and prayed with him. "It was with intense delight that he endeavored to explain and enforce to a dying man that noble argument of St. Paul for a resurrection." The remainder of the afternoon he spent alone in meditation and prayer. "In the evening he wrote a sketch of a sermon on 1 St. Peter, iii., 19—'The Example of Christ.' And from this occupation, at eight o'clock he proceeded to the church and was there joined in the holy tie of wedlock with the object of his dearest affections."

Even at the marriage supper priestly duties were not forgotten. Meeting a hesitating parishioner he "obtained from him an almost promise to receive baptism, and a full acknowledgment of the necessity of so doing."

Was there ever a marriage entered into more reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God?

Mr. Rollinson, congratulating his grandson on his marriage, expressed a "hope that the good wife he had taken to himself would take good care of him and induce him to

change his reckless mode of living." But there was no change whatever save that he was now married. His home continued to be the same; parochial work was not interrupted a day; and all his habits connected with work were after marriage precisely what they had been before, and were attended by like results. During the summer he suffered from continued weakness of body and increasing depression of spirits.

His parish work prospered increasingly. After more than one disappointment Bishop Croes was on his way to Orange to visit the parish, when on September 9th, while officiating in Jersey City, he was smitten with paralysis, and the young rector never had the happiness of presenting to his bishop his first class so sedulously prepared for confirmation.

The week following the disappointment consequent upon the affliction of his bishop a far heavier blow fell upon him. His diary has this entry, traced with difficulty and with omission of words:

Wednesday, September 15th, P.M.—Van Ingen brought out the melancholy news of the death of Bishop Hobart. Went with him into the city expecting to meet the corpse. Miserable afternoon and evening.

Thursday, 16th.—At father's. Down town most of day writing extra for F. V. P.M. attended funeral of Bishop H. The greatest concourse I ever witnessed. Service by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, assisted by Drs. Wainwright and Lyell and Rev. Mr. Schroeder. Sermon by Dr. B. T. O. Not over till nine.

Bishop Hobart had died at Auburn, while on a visitation, five days before the sad news reached New York City.

The words *miserable afternoon and evening*, which is the sole written expression of his sorrow, show as fully as words could the inexpressible grief of the bereaved friend. Time-tempered grief, of course; but time never lessened a sense of loss. After his own departure there was taken from his

desk, where it had always been kept as a thing sacred, the likeness of the guide of his youth, the example of his mature age, whose name was never mentioned without reverence. The tie severed by death had been very close on both sides. Affectionate esteem and reverential deference, personal as well as official, on the part of the younger was met by the elder friend with a father's affection—a father's authority over a son, not simply that of a bishop, tempered by an appreciation of the learning and ability of the man. Their friendship began when, before bestowing on him the gifts of confirmation, the bishop examined the boy of ten; it had been strengthened by long association in many ways, as teacher and pupil and as fellow-workers; and each deserved what was mutual.

Bishop Hobart was, as was his deacon, of strong will and of marked ability, capable of impressing his views on those of kindred minds or who yielded to his influence, and as well of exciting strong opposition on the part of others. He was a much loved man and a much reviled man. Honest in his convictions and never doubtful, perhaps not always gentle in enforcing them. As Dr. Jarvis wrote of him: "This able and enterprising prelate was never known to pursue a favorite object with an unsteady gaze or erring aim." This he said when he thought he had cause to complain.

Bishop Hobart was a leader—the chief leader—in all the measures called "High Church," at a time when the *odium theologicum* showed itself with peculiar bitterness. A great part of his ministerial life was spent, not peacefully and happily setting forth the truth, but manfully contending for the truth. It was at the close of a controversial work called for by the able and eminent Presbyterian, Dr. Mason, that he announced his church principles in one sentence, which has been widely adopted as a motto: "My banner is Evangelical truth and Apostolic order." Because he upheld both clauses he was not rightly appreciated by two classes

of men. But whether looked upon as a troublesome zealot or as a bigoted formalist, the generous disinterested spirit of the man was recognized by all who were themselves generous. No more noble tribute of respect could be rendered than that given him by his great opponent, Dr. Mason,* who said: "Were I compelled to intrust the safety of my country to any one man, that man should be John Henry Hobart."

This large-hearted, strong man, more than any other, molded the theological opinions of Whittingham, and not such opinions only. Markedly alike in some traits, they differed in that while the younger friend was the more learned, the elder, who was yet not deficient in a knowledge of books, was more a man of the world, having a keener insight into the character of men, and a greater ability and readiness to make use of them for his purposes. It cannot be said that their opinions were wholly the same, for of every man it is true that whatever be his tenets, they are affected by his individual temperament; but their aims and the principles which governed them in seeking their aims were without difference. Dr. John McVickar, in his very interesting "Memoir of Bishop Hobart," referring to the then Bishop of Maryland, writes: "To one who—if a friend

* Without offence to propriety, a foot-note may preserve a droll story about the doctor, told more than forty years ago by a near friend of his who was cognizant of the fact, and, if memory do not err, was present on the occasion. The doctor and the bishop often met and were personally very good friends, although always in controversy. They differed as on many matters connected with religion, so in their estimate of the Bible Society. On some occasion, when speaking of the bishop's opposition to what he advocated, the doctor used the not very dignified expression, which was often in mirth repeated among his friends, "A shad can as soon stop a steamboat as Bishop Hobart the Bible Society." Strange to say, the doctor was once on a steamboat going up the North River, when there was a stoppage in midstream. Every one was inquiring, Why is this? when at last the cause was discovered to be that a fish had been drawn up by a pump and had become fixed in a valve, the free action of which was necessary to the supply of water. When this was learned some one went to the earnest controversialist and exclaimed, "Well, Dr. Mason, a shad *has* stopped a steamboat!" "It may be so," was the unhesitating answer, "but for all that Bishop Hobart can't stop the cause of the Lord!"

may judge—is now treading in his footsteps, Bishop Hobart used to say, 'My young friend, take little thought about present consequences; set yourself upon principle, and trust God with the result.'" The future of the pupil was an illustration of the precept of the teacher.

On September 28th Mr. Whittingham wrote in his diary: "Going down to the city, I found business enough to detain me there a fortnight." The business of "the Press" had probably increased until it had grown beyond the control of its managers.

A few weeks later these managers made a "beseeching" proposal, the purport of which and its result are thus stated:

ORANGE, November 3, 1830.

DEAR HOLMES:

I have again cut myself loose, and, in sequence of what seems to me the plain path of duty, am about to quit my dear little beloved parish.

Last week a committee of the Press waited on me with the resolutions of that body importing that it was absolutely necessary to the well-being of the institution that I should devote my time and exertions exclusively to its service. This was backed by an imploring letter from the Standing Committee, and letters, representing the removal as an absolute point of duty, from Dr. Onderdonk [then bishop elect] and from eight other of the prominent city clergy. I knew all that they urged, and although attachment to my dear little parish, regard for its interests, dread of the consequences, kept me almost distracted while weighing the matter, I could not resist the sense of duty, and have engaged myself and entered on my duties as editor and superintendent of the publications of the Press. In worldly matters my change is for the worse. There I get total $1,000; the $100 additional, you know, will nothing like make up the extra expenses of a city life. But I go, "Not knowing whither I go, looking unto Him who I believe has called me," and do not fear.

W. R. W.

The remainder of this letter is given to an earnest entreaty that his friend would take again the charge he had generously yielded. Mr. Holmes did so; and the remainder

of his quiet, devoted, useful life was spent among the people whom he had first gathered into the Church as a congregation. All his clerical life was passed where his bishop sent him when he was a deacon; he never sought any field of labor. In this respect the two friends were alike. Would God that such contented waiting for guidance were more common!

Mr. Whittingham has shown that the prospect of money gain did not lead him to resign his cure. It is well to add that when he accepted it he made no inquiry as to what salary should be given him. He made but one stipulation:

> Decide what you can safely promise, tell me the amount, and then regularly pay me what I have thus a right to expect. Honesty toward others makes this absolutely necessary.

Nor should this other fact be withheld. When Mr. Whittingham was deliberating as to what was duty, an uncle of his wife, a man of wealth for that day, a married man without children, whose wife was provided for, made to him this offer: "Remain in Orange, and I will to-day write my will in your favor. All that I possess shall be yours in time, and while I live you shall be treated by me as my sole heir." Not a word of this offer is mentioned in any writing of Mr. Whittingham's; but it is a fact. The next day he accepted the proposal of the trustees and resigned his parish. The loving offer of his uncle came to him as a temptation—a cause for fear lest self-seeking should lead his judgment astray. In cases of doubt he habitually followed the more arduous path. He did not choose poverty, but certainly he feared the influence of riches.*

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* And not for himself only. About the close of his stay in Orange, he wrote: "At tea Sim mentioned a report that a claim had been set up to the property of Trinity Church, and that P. P. G. of this place, one of the claimants, had been offered $60,000 for his share. I cannot believe the claim valid. Yet if it should prove so, I am by no means sure that the loss of property would be a real injury either to the united churches in particular or to our general Church."

Happy is he who can let the dead past bury its dead; who having, with all due consideration, decided on a course in life, can peacefully pursue it undisturbed by subsequent fears that perhaps he had not been honest with himself. Perplexities which came to him in after-life may well have made Mr. Whittingham regret the quiet he had sacrificed at what then seemed to him to be call of duty; but they were no cause for the doubts which he suffered sometimes to trouble him, and which were thus expressed about four years after having left Orange. He was then in the Mediterranean, approaching Malta.

Watched the setting of the evening star and thought of the evenings in the summer of '30, when on return from parochial visits, or the meetings of my Bible class, I used to watch the setting of that same planet behind the mountain back of our dear home, and observe the distinct shadow of my person across the road. Those were happy hours! and I thank God that at the time I knew them to be such, and that looking for no more such, I forsook them, not for views of ambition, thirst of gain or lust of self-pleasing, but overruled by the joint representations of others concerning the path of seeming duty. Perhaps it was so: yet the perturbations with which, ever since, my life has been so full, almost make me to believe that I ran before I was sent, and forsook a sphere congenial to my disposition and not beyond my abilities for others which I was unequal to fill. God, he knoweth! and though I cannot—dare not think of attempting to—clear or justify myself and my motives, yet it does seem to me even now, in calm retrospect, that had I consulted ease or inclination I should not have exposed myself to the trials I have since encountered, the troubles (how many of them wholly of my own making—almost seeking!—how justly deserved and more than deserved every one of them!) which have almost overwhelmed me.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO NEW YORK.—THE STANDARD WORKS.—"THE CHURCHMAN."—ST. LUKE'S CHURCH.

1830–1834.

As editor of the Standard Works Mr. Whittingham was not servant to a publisher in the trade, doing so much literary work for specified pay. The Press was a charity. Its trustees were his personal friends, with whom he had been long associated in church work; he had helped to organize, if he did not, as is believed, first suggest this special undertaking to print for the Church. He believed, what the trustees in their communications with him plead, that the best interests of the Church were connected with the prosperity of their incorporation; and he was therefore ready to share the burden of his friends and to labor for them as in God's service. He went beyond what was asked of him, and in his letter of acceptance bound himself to give to the business of his contractors his undivided attention and exertions from 8 A.M. to 9 P.M. during six days in the week, and accepting the position of editor of all the publications of the Press and all the issues of the Sunday-School Union, he became in fact worker in general.

In August, 1829, the trustees of the Press had issued proposals to publish in a duodecimo monthly serial standard works of the Church of England, to be selected under the direction of the Bishop of New York; and so soon as the requisite number of subscribers had been secured, they had engaged the services of Mr. Whittingham as editor.

A list of authors whose writings might be chosen for publication seems to have been sent out with the prospectus. The need of what was proposed was widely recognized, but those interested in the scheme did not as readily agree as to what books should be given to the subscribers. Bishop Brownell, without entirely approving all the works proposed, had yet confidence in the discrimination of the editor, and gave his recommendation; Bishop White found the list "incongruous," and positively objected to the name of Dr. Hickes because of his treatise on "The Christian Priesthood," and under no circumstances could he without reserve recommend "works in which there may possibly be, in whole or in part, sentiments alien from mine;" while nothing could have been warmer than the approval of Dr. Doane, who was not long after chosen Bishop of New Jersey.

"I verily believe," said he, "this is the best work that has been begun here in my day. When consulted by a friend about certain objects important to religion and the Church to be provided for by will, I named first the reprinting of the standard works of English theology."

A due consideration of this statement may help the reader to a better estimate of much that pertains to the life of Whittingham. They who look only to the present can hardly do justice to those who have helped them to what they possess.

To furnish at a moderate cost the "masterly productions" of English church writers was certainly a commendable object; but the praiseworthy efforts of the trustees of the Press were not long continued, and they came far short of their aim.

The first volume issued contained "Leslie on Deism" and "West on the Resurrection." Not simply reprints, but accompanied by biographical sketches of the authors, with preface and original notes, not for the scholar but for the general reader, for whose instruction the publications were intended, and therefore numerous, and explanatory of what-

ever in the text is calculated to excite the attention of the unlearned. It was the indiscreet labor given to this volume which broke down the regained strength of the editor in Orange.

The second volume contained "Apostolical Preaching," by J. B. Sumner, then Bishop of Chester, and five sermons by the same hand. Writings intended for the clergy chiefly were printed for the laity, because, among other reasons stated in the Preface, "according to the constitution of our Church, much depends on the laity, who, even with relation to points of doctrine, have a voice in its councils. Under any form of church government it is a disgrace to be uninformed on the more prominent questions in theology; under ours it is a crime." And also because "in a free republic it is of no little moment that there should be at all times a counter-check to the influence of the clergy."

The danger guarded against is not as yet very prominent in our "Protestant communion."

"The editor's share in this volume is less conspicuous than in the first, yet his labor has been little less," says the Preface. This was due chiefly to the need of verifying the bishop's quotations, which were loosely made and without reference.

The third volume was "Jewell's Apology;" but "instead of a mere republication," it "almost assumed the character of an original and laborious work." The notes, "a mass of comment," amount to nearly two-thirds of the matter in the volume, exclusive of the Preface and the Memoir. In addition to the labor of preparing these, every syllable of the text had to be transcribed, as no copy that might be destroyed for the printer's use could be procured. The copy thus copied was one in black letter belonging to the Seminary library; the translation being that of Lady Bacon. This volume also contained "Jewell's Treatise of the Holy Scriptures." While speaking in his Preface of this treatise, the editor asserts that the sufficiency of the Scriptures for

our guidance to all revealed truth was the basis of the Reformation, and further on adds:

> The principles settled by the Church of England, as subordinate to the one fundamental truth already stated, were these: (1) The appeal to Scripture for an *ultimate decision* of all points essential to faith and practice; and (2) The revocation of all doctrine and discipline to *the primitive pattern;* in other words, the appeal to antiquity and universal consent in the Church of Christ for the interpretation of Scripture and the constitution of the Church.

It may well be that with advancing age and under differing circumstances, the religious opinions of Whittingham on some points were modified. If so, it was through the more exact application of these principles, as it seemed to him; for these principles were with him the invariable test of Christian truth; that was not his enlightened and fixed opinion which cannot stand this test.

The fourth volume of the series, as promised in the second year of publication, was "The Apostolic Fathers," that is, the writings of SS. Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius, and the First Apology of S. Justin M. The publication of this volume was long delayed because the editor had intended to give an original translation of the treatises and had commenced it. This intention he was forced to abandon "through loss of health and the perplexing variety of his employments." He adopted the then recent version of Rev. Temple Chevalier, together with his Introduction. A great deal of labor which hindered other work was thus profitless for the present undertaking, although doubtless it was of benefit to the future professor.

The fifth of the series contained Bishop Gibson's three pastoral letters, together with Horne's "Letters on Infidelity," and his letter to Adam Smith on Hume, which was, in part, the occasion of these letters. The fifth volume was issued in 1831.

The sixth, which was Sherlock's practical discourse con-

cerning judgment, came out, together with the fourth, in 1834. Each volume of the series has a full index.

These six volumes constitute "The Standard Works." The connection of Mr. Whittingham with the Press ceased with the preparation of the last. The last index was finished the day before he left the country in 1834.

While the Standard Works were being edited, seven other volumes, uniform with them, under the name of "The Parish Library," were published by the Press. These were "Sumner on the Gospels of S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke," two vols.; original works on Episcopacy, Bowden and Cook, two vols.; Jebb's Kempis, Walton's Lives, and Burnet's Lives, each one vol.

These books, considering the state of printing in this country at the time and the object in view, are creditable to the Press as a press. They are of remarkable accuracy, which fact was due to the great care of Mr. Whittingham and of Rev. Mr. Van Ingen, who was associated with him. Much other printing passed through his hands, notably an edition of the Book of Common Prayer, issued in 1831, and which was in 1832 made the standard by the General Convention. Also, in 1834, an edition of the Holy Bible was printed for the New York Bible and Prayer-Book Society, from stereotype plates especially prepared, and for which $1,800 had been given by certain pious persons. For this work Mr. Whittingham was peculiarly fitted through long study of the English text, and from having, while at the Seminary, corrected all the proof of an edition of the Bible. The object was to procure an edition more correct than that hitherto printed by the Society from plates. To secure this end a very great deal of careful labor was given.

Mr. Whittingham began reading the proofs of the plates with an octavo edition by Eyre & Strahan, London, 1817, which had been given him as a copy of that recommended as a standard by the General Convention. A comparison of

the first chapter showed that this was a mistake, and that this edition was of no authority. No copy of the approved edition could be procured. It was then determined to produce as correct a copy of the text as possible by the comparison of sundry editions. Accordingly the whole of the proof was read at the same time with four different editions (which are specified), and wherever any one of them differed from any other—and differences occurred in almost every tenth verse—then from six to twelve others were consulted. Nearly a thousand changes were made in the plates heretofore used. Of course many of these were such as would be readily made by any but the illiterate, and were of little importance; but again many affected the sense of the text, and some of them in passages of importance. Mrs. Whittingham has said that the labor given to these plates was *killing;* and any one who has attempted to collate must know what it must have been to go through the whole Bible comparing proof with from four to twelve texts. Of this labor there is no notice in the diary except as included under the words "at the Press." The statements here made are from the first draft of a long letter to an unnamed correspondent, who wrote because of inquiries made by the American Bible Society.

On Friday, November 26, 1830, Mr. Whittingham witnessed the consecration of his near and (all his life through) much-honored friend, Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, of New York. He describes the ceremony as being august and impressive.

> Bishops Brownell, White, and Onderdonk performed the act of consecration. Dr. and Mrs. John Onderdonk were present in a front pew. What a rare gratification is theirs to witness *two sons* bishops! "They are good boys, sir," the old gentleman replied to Floyd Smith when he congratulated him, "and I thank God for them!"

What sad thoughts come to us as we read of the happy pride of the venerable father in his two "good boys" who

were bishops, one consecrated by the other! Father and mother died while as yet the evil days came not—died still thanking God for their two sons who were bishops. The sons lived to see their two bishoprics occupied at the same time by two other brothers, for whom perhaps in like manner father and mother blessed God.

Dr. Onderdonk's elevation having caused a vacancy in the staff of the clergy of Trinity Church, Mr. Whittingham was appointed temporary preacher till an assistant should be chosen. This position, which involved no parochial duties, he held about four months. March 16th he writes:

> At the Press found Dr. Berrian to inform me that $500 had been granted me by Trinity Church. This enables me to pay all my debts, to give something to the Tract Society, to make some presents, and to buy some books at the approaching sale. *Deo gratias.*

Words which might literally serve to record any like receiving of money: "So much to give away and to buy books."

The engagement as preacher in Trinity Parish involved no increase of labor. On the contrary, it must have given relief from the monotony of routine work; and had he not been so engaged he could not have escaped continual solicitation to do Sunday work. The first half-year after his return to the city was spent in regular attention to duties connected with the Press, in fair health. His diary has an occasional entry, "miserable," accompanied by the note, "to bed at $2\frac{1}{4}$"—"at $1\frac{1}{2}$." Two quotations will show his estimate of what his engagements demanded of him.

> Reading my German Bible till $11\frac{1}{2}$: in this I did wrong. It was an irregular occupation, and in it I lost time which I should have devoted to my regular, which, very justly, I was not permitted to make up again all day.

And later:

> I thank God for bringing me through this day with a tolerable degree of industry and attention to business. I have been striving

to be industrious out of gratitude to my Redeemer, and I find it a far more efficient motive than honesty to my employers, duty to my fellow-beings, etc.

These were times when mental depression was felt, and it must have been during one of these turns of despondency, dependent chiefly on physical condition, that he wrote on the fly-leaf of the little volume in which he noted how he busied himself during the eighteen months beginning with January, 1830, "A register of sadly wasted time. What but the blood of Christ can buy it back!" But in general the tone of this register is cheerful, as becomes one who can "Thank God for '*Mens sana, in corpore sano.*'" Of his spiritual condition he takes at least a hopeful view. Thus we find:

Rose at 4. Sacra privata. Meditation, pp.xt. Reading Micah VI. and VII. with med. Much coldness. Sleepiness at first, but persevering in an humble effort at prayer, gradually enlivened till devotion grew a pleasure. So it is—so I trust it will be—with my faith. It is cold, dull, hardly a spark of life: it will, I trust, enliven and grow, the Lord helping my unbelief till it shall spring up into the full assurance of hope the evidence of things unseen. Already I humbly trust, with doubting and fear yet joy, I feel in some measure the blessed effects of an answer in mercy to prayer for increased faith. I begin to see—at least I strive to look at—the truth of Scripture more than ever in the light of realities, of personal realities, of the actual dealings of God with me and my fellow-beings. Lord, increase in me this knowledge and confirm this faith evermore.

And again later:

This day I have been extraordinarily blessed with a disposition to pray, and have found what I have never failed to find—a corresponding blessing in the performance of my duties. How fully does it prove the corruption of my heart that when I know such to be the results, I am yet so often—oh, so generally—indisposed to employ the means. The price of happiness is in my hands, yet the old man, corrupt through deceitful lusts, is able to persuade me to withhold it! Such happiness—rejoicing in spiritual strength obtained as the return of prayer—this life affords not in any other way: at least it

never has afforded me. A part of the buoyancy of animal spirits which I have felt to-day I have suspected was owing partly to light food, and partly to the effect of atmospheric temperature on my susceptible frame. A sudden change in the weather confirms me in this suspicion. But the buoyancy within is, I bless God, of another kind: that, I do believe and hope, is dependent only on spiritual food and the atmosphere of God's presence.

These records of spiritual experience, intended as "way marks," are indications of a turn of mind lasting to the very close of life. An incident which happened about the time of his writing what is given in the first extract, may illustrate what he meant by "personal realities" in connection with the truth of Scripture. He was visited by an old friend, a clergyman, who a while before had learned to feel more deeply his personal relations to God.

At Press found X. Y. An hour's animated and most cheering conversation with him. He is a *new man!* After preaching to others nearly five years he has at last found himself to be a guilty sinner needing pardon; has thrown himself at the foot of the cross, and has known Jesus to be precious. *Jubila! Anima mea!* He has all the freshness of a neophyte about him. He seems to spread the blessing he has received. His mouth overflows from the abundance of his heart. He longs to say to all around him what a dear Saviour he has found. He delights in speaking of the wonders of redeeming love. He is earnest, in season and out of season, to spread the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. He feels the spiritual ignorance of his people to be a burden upon him. He is striving to change it. God be thanked! God's mercy be praised!

On April 22d, after long hours and many of "extreme mental suffering and earnest prayer, with an endeavor to compose himself to resignation to any event," Mr. Whittingham was blessed by God with the gift of his first-born. He writes:

When told that I had a son, and that H. was safe, my first feeling was of unmingled, absorbing gratitude for her deliverance, the next—may it never diminish—of overpowering sense of the respon-

sibility of a father. I poured out my soul to God; solemnly gave over the child he gave me to his keeping, and dedicated it, in whatever station it might please him in his providence to assign it, solely to his glory and service.

No nearer approach did Whittingham ever make to seeking office than when he *wished* for the rectorship of St. Luke's Parish, New York, which was about to become vacant through the election of the rector, Dr. Ives, to the bishopric of North Carolina. Apart from the fact that the charge of this parish seemed to him a desirable position, his wish was due to the painful expectation of his having to leave his situation as editor and agent for the Press. Some unexplained difficulties had been met. From what is said it is evident that they were not due to dissension. Probably the undertaking was on a scale which the means of the associates did not warrant. Six months later, that is September 6th, there is a jubilant entry in the diary:

A busy and eventful week has gone by. The bishop has returned. We are full in his confidence. The Press stands higher than ever, with daily expanding prospects of usefulness.

If wishes had ever ripened into an expectation of being invited to St. Luke's, this had died out, for he was gladly surprised, June 30th, on being informed by a committee of the vestry that he had been unanimously chosen rector to succeed Dr. Ives when he should leave the parish: this was not until immediately before his consecration in Philadelphia, September 22d.

Mr. Whittingham was instituted October 1, 1831, on which occasion Bishop Ives preached on "The Pastor's Need of the People's Prayers." He held the parish as rector until May 20, 1834. When he entered on his duties he wrote in his prayer-book: "The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground! Thank God I can say *fallen*." His position was a happy one so far as could be secured by increased revenue, by the loving confidence of vestry and of

people, and by blessing on abundant labors. He was diligent in all the duties of a parish priest, and marked success attended him in them all. The early morning bell called his congregation together daily. No faint sign of earnestness in those days. His Sunday-school outgrew the accommodation which had till then sufficed; and, what he especially thanked God for, he was enabled, through the generosity of his people, to erect a large and convenient building for a parish school for boys and for girls where they could be trained religiously, that is as Church children, while receiving a high class of literary instruction. Before he was obliged to resign his charge, he saw these two schools in successful operation under carefully chosen teachers. As when in Orange, he gave great care to preparation for his Bible class. These instructions became noted beyond the parish. "Numbers were drawn to them by the zeal and eloquence of the rector; but not so much by these as by his mode of scriptural exposition, which was unusual." This is the testimony of one who was made a clergyman by what he was taught in this class.

A letter will show the character of the rector's intercourse with his parishioners:

My Dear Sir:

. . . I am not sorry that a slight lameness confining me to the house forces me to adopt this mode of intercourse. My object in now addressing you is to urge the duty of securing for your children the privilege and blessings of the Christian covenant by baptism. . . . Your regular attendance and devout deportment during public worship assure me that you value the word and ordinances of salvation. . . . That the sacraments have proceeded from the same divine authority as the sacred Word is unquestionable. That they are divinely appointed pledges of the blessings promised in that Word is indisputable. . . . Your children are growing up in a Christian country, surrounded with Christian light, and, at least in a certain degree, enjoying Christian privileges. But the position in which they are placed by the neglect of baptism goes far toward the neutralization of these advantages, if indeed it does not convert

them into positive evils. For they are accountable to God for their knowledge and their opportunities, while the means which he, knowing their necessities, has provided for the assurance of his aid and blessing in the use of that knowledge and those opportunities are withheld from them. They hear of their Creator as a kind father, watching over his children to bless them—but he is not *their* father—they have not been admitted to the adoption in which they are made members of Christ, children of God, and fellow-heirs with Christ. They hear of the Lord Jesus and his atoning blood; but it is as a heathen might hear of him, as *a* Saviour, not *their* Saviour, not bound to them by the pledge of his own providing, not made one with them in the covenant which he sent forth his disciples to offer and extend to all nations. Invested, by the circumstances of their birth and education, with all the responsibilities of those to whom the Gospel has been preached, they are, nevertheless, suffered to grow up into accountability, and shape their course for life with no more claim on the Divine mercy and assistance, no more title to the promised grace sufficient for the believer in Christ in all his trials, than if they were among the heathen to whom the word and ordinances of the Gospel of Christ had never found admittance. Such, my dear sir, is the view of the situation of unbaptized children of Christian parents which I have attained from the study of the Word of God; which I believe it to be my bounden duty to present to those whose spiritual interests are committed to my care. . . . There will be a baptism to-morrow afternoon. . . . Might yours be added to the number, it would give deep and lasting joy to

Yours, with sincere esteem and affection,
W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

During the summer and autumn of 1832 the Asiatic cholera spread with fatal effects over many parts of the United States.

Mr. Whittingham's diary shows that there were deaths from this cause in New York City before the end of June. On the 3d of July he writes that Dr. Stewart, his parishioner—

Assures me five cases came within his personal inspection to-day. All went to bed well last night; four are dead and buried at six P.M. to-day.

23d—Saw for the first time the sulphur fires in the Eighth Ward. Very impressive spectacle.

The last mention of a death from the epidemic is on "Oct. 21st, to the funeral of J. L., who died yesterday morning of cholera." That the disease had then spent itself is shown by the fact that there was no longer such fearful haste to bury their dead out of their sight.

To avoid imminent danger Mr. Whittingham took his wife and child to Orange. His father's family also found a place of greater safety in Essex County. He himself remained where duty bade him stay. More than once Mrs. Whittingham, without notice, returned to the city, hoping to induce him to return with her to her father's. But he felt as every brave man feels. More than once during the three or four months of separation he was sick, early in the time of terror, with decided symptoms of the epidemic, but no duty was interrupted. Church services were as they had been, with the exception that sermons were more frequently extempore. Ministering to the bodily as well as spiritual wants of the plague-stricken took the time usually given to sermon-writing. Some, not many, of St. Luke's congregation died. But, as needs not be said, Mr. Whittingham's care was not confined to his own congregation. To Mrs. Whittingham he wrote:

The distress of the poor is very great. My time is more than half occupied in attending to their applications.

The burial service of one of his poor parishioners he described in a letter dated—

July 16th, Monday.

About seven in the evening one of the cholera physicians of our district came to request me to attend the funeral of a woman just dead belonging to my congregation. I went and found it to be of a worthy communicant, known to me as such, wife of a communicant; one to whom death came welcome; one who heard my sermon last Sunday afternoon on the fear of death, and expressed her accordance

with its sentiments. She had been at our morning prayers on Saturday, was well at 10½ Saturday night, was lying wrapped in a sheet waiting for a coffin at 7 on Sunday evening. Her husband, the doctor (a communicant), one old man, and three poor pious women knelt with me on the snow-white floor which the deceased had scrubbed with her own hands twelve hours before, while we prayed to God that when our Master shall come we also may be ready. It was a solemn scene, Hannah. The poor husband felt his loss bitterly, and yet that little chamber seemed more like heaven than a place of mourning. When done prayer there, a messenger came requesting my visit to a dying young man in the next house. I went, found him almost insensible, yet needing and wishing comfort. Dirty, miserable, crowded, squalid in wretchedness, this room was a perfect contrast to the other. Here, if ever, I preached the Gospel. I proclaimed pardon through the blood of Christ earnestly and faithfully to the poor relatives of the dying youth, and to him as well as he could bear. From his bedside to two others in the same house,—all now dead and buried. These are times, Hannah, to think on another world. . . .

In the evening of the same day he wrote:

On going my cholera rounds after writing to you I found no more sickness, though an aggrieved witness of much distress caused by the insolent brutality of the miscreants employed by the Corporation to enforce their regulations for the public health. The house to which I was called on Wednesday (out of which on that day four bodies were taken) was yesterday cleared of nearly all its inhabitants. I learn that there were upward of sixty souls in it. To remove these was well enough. But the way! Foul language, even blows, taunts that to die of the cholera was good enough for such as they, etc. Such was their mode of doing a business, harsh and disagreeable at the best. Crockery and wooden ware, the scanty stock of poor wretches, they broke, in wanton malice, for there could be no pretence of infection in such goods. But to crown all, this morning, a ruffian who keeps a porter-house, acting as deputy or something of the kind, visiting the house where none were left but two cleanly, healthy families (our Elizabeth and her husband one of them), and the convalescing woman whom I had visited, brings with him two pine coffins, throws them on the floor of a front room, in view and hearing of the only sick person in the house, and calls out to the others, "Here, you! I've brought these

against you get ready for them." So much for the humane attention of our city authorities to the poor and afflicted. . . . I am at no loss for company. . . . Beside this I enjoy the extreme felicity of Z.'s company about three times a day—namely, to breakfast, dinner, and tea, and now and then he takes a bed: and all this without putting me to the trouble of inviting him; and with that happy ease and undisturbed composure for which he is distinguished.

To endure a bore seems to have been considered by the rector in the light of a Providential call, not so touching a duty as visiting the poor in their affliction, but as obligatory.

The diary, though regularly kept, is in general brief jottings. It is with something of amusement that one sees from these how, during a time of excitement because of pestilence, a man can calmly occupy himself with "indexing sermons" and "reading Wordsworth," etc., and "Pepy's Diary, vols. iii. and iv. Wretched, wretched picture."

Amusement gives place to thankfulness as one notes also such entries as:

Never got through a day more comfortably. A day of happy industry and peaceful content in the discharge of duty. *Laus Deo.*

Very possibly this content was due to the fact that the mind, more occupied by sympathy, had less of tendency to introspection.

When Mr. Whittingham became rector of St. Luke's, he resigned the salary which had been paid him by the Press and the Sunday-School Union, together with office duties. But he retained his editorship, and was also an officer in both institutions. In addition, he had suffered himself to be persuaded to take upon him the labors of an editor of a religious weekly.

In February, 1831, Bishop Onderdonk, with an association of clergymen, determined to establish *The Churchman.* The first number appeared March 26th, Rev. J. W. Curtis being editor. The management of the paper disap-

pointed expectations, and it passed into the hands of the trustees of the Press, very probably the same owners under a different organization.

August 21st, Mr. Whittingham writes, "I have just assumed the new and most important responsibility—with Van Ingen as assistant—of the editorship of *The Churchman*. May God overrule it to his glory, for Christ's sake."

This "assumption" was against his better judgment, and only in submission to the urgency of his bishop and of near friends. It was his misfortune, or his weakness, to allow burdens to be laid upon him greater than his physical strength could bear, and not to be able to learn from experience that willingness to labor is not always a measure of ability to endure.

When he consented to take charge of *The Churchman* he had already accepted the prospective rectorship of St. Luke's Church, and this engagement should have prevented a further cumulation of duties. In a short time after he became rector his obligations as editor of the paper were found to interfere seriously with parish claims. The clashing of duties became more and more insupportable, until, after serious deliberation, he decided to ask of his vestry their consent to a temporary relinquishment of his parish. July 24, 1832, he addressed to them a letter in which—premising that when he had accepted their invitation he had frankly told them of previous engagements from which he did not see any prospect of immediate liberation, and that to these prior engagements another of a very burdensome nature had devolved upon him unexpectedly—he states that after the lapse of almost a year his engagements are yet undischarged, and a large portion of his time is devoted to what is extra-parochial. The result has been that one great branch of parochial duty has been neglected; and the parish has suffered. "The consciousness of this state of things," he says, "has for some time past crippled all my exertions, and has done much toward enfeebling my

bodily health, and thus adding another drawback from my usefulness, another source of unavailing regrets." He cannot bear to think of giving up his charge—"for never was man more satisfied with his situation." And his honor and conscience are concerned for the discharge of a pledge given to the Church and to individuals—[*i.e.*, to prepare the fourth volume of the standard works, and to furnish questions on the Epistles and Gospels]. It cannot be relinquished. In this dilemma he begs leave to give over the care of the parish to an assistant for six or twelve months, and to surrender his salary during this time, while he in the meanwhile shall clear himself from all hinderances to parochial duty, and by strict attention to bodily health endeavor to better fit himself for their services when he shall return to the parish. He trusts that the vestry will not be unwilling to extend the indulgence asked, and adds:

> Should the slightest hint be afforded to me to the contrary, I will most cheerfully, and with entire kindness and good feeling, at once resign my charge. You have already borne with me long enough, and shown me sufficient kindness to render me your debtor through life.

The proposal made in this letter did not meet the approval of some members of Mr. Whittingham's family. Mr. Van Ingen, his brother-in-law, urged that no difficulties beset the rector which could not have been foreseen when he accepted his parish; that all engagements inconsistent with parish duties should be at once relinquished; that the parishioners could not but be alienated by his withdrawal from parish work so soon after entering on it; that if still rector he could not escape the anxiety of responsibility. Especially Mr. Van Ingen protested against the proposal on the ground that "the multifarious engagements of the most active portion of Whittingham's life" had begotten in him a "tendency to leave an unfinished work to project a new one;" that this tendency if yielded to in the present instance would af-

fect his stability of character, and as well "his reputation for stability and soundness of judgment and self-knowing forethought, and so affect his weight and influence in the Church."

The vestry were of a different mind. They cordially consented to the request made, and, reserving to him his full authority as rector, relieved him for at least one year of all parochial engagements—that is, empowered him to devolve them on an assistant.

If one take the trouble to compare dates, it will be seen that this request for leave to lay aside parochial duties was made while the cholera caused most terror. Nothing is said about the epidemic by rector or vestry. Probably the thought of resigning in the face of danger did not cross Mr. Whittingham's mind. His letter asks that his parochial engagements may be transferred to another on October 1st, and although at that time an assistant, the Rev. John Murray Forbes, entered on the charge, the rector did not leave the parish till six weeks later.

While yet in New York he received the joy-bringing gift —the brief loan rather—of a daughter. "Oh the goodness of my gracious God!" is the exclamation which accompanies the record of the fact.

Once again in his happy home in Orange, always counted as his happiest home, he gave himself faithfully to the duty to which he was pledged—the redeeming his promise to the Church and the seeking greater vigor of health. He worked diligently but moderately at his "Apostolic Fathers" and his "Questions;" denied himself and went to bed at reasonable hours; took exercise, sometimes in the form of manual labor. These promising habits continued until February, when a distressing malady prostrated his brother-in-law, Mr. Van Ingen, the result of which misfortune was the loss to a great extent of what had been hoped for from the stay in Orange. The diary, which had been neglected since the first week in February is resumed.

Monday, April 1, 1833.—Thank God I am in my own house again; at my own study table. A *hard* two months have I just passed. Two months since, at a minute's warning, I took John's place at the Press. I have been wonderfully blessed in it so far—supported—carried through—oh, how infinitely better than I deserve!

From this time there is no mention of Ignatius or Polycarp, but many entries show how pressing were the claims of the Press and *The Churchman*. When he gave up his parish for a twelvemonth he resigned his connection with *The Churchman* and his associate became sole editor. The sudden illness of Mr. Van Ingen threw back upon him this abandoned responsibility, together with all others which had been borne by his afflicted brother-in-law. It was evident that he could not, under these circumstances, resume the full duties of a parish priest. To maintain *The Churchman* was thought to be an obligation to the Church.

After the failure of various efforts to secure a competent editor, a plan was formally proposed by the owners of the paper to the vestry of St. Luke's, by which it was hoped the parish might retain its rector and yet the paper not lose its head. If the efficient *locum tenens*, Mr. Forbes, could be permanently engaged as assistant minister, it was thought that the rector could find time for *The Churchman*. To this proposal consent was given, but inasmuch as it was by a bare majority of the vestry, Mr. Whittingham received the vote as a refusal which gave to him individually a happy deliverance.

This was in June. In August a final deliverance was attained. He found an able successor, who on September 1st took sole charge of *The Churchman*. The new editor was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, long after known as a leader of opinion among those who are guided by the periodical press. A scholar and logical, he was always strong in whatever position he assumed. With keen wit, of imperturbable temper, a great master of sarcasm, and unsparing in dealing

with the foibles of others, he was the most provoking of controversialists. He could be very grave and earnest in the upholding important truth, but, as it seemed, he would often sacrifice the benefit of convincing in the pleasure of discomfiting an opponent. He was too independent to be the man of a party, but he was not afraid of the name partizan; and he was not at all disposed to maintain the position held by his predecessor as the exponent of the whole Church, meaning thereby that "the names High and Low Church are distinctive of English parties, and are certainly applicable to no classes of American Episcopalians now."

By earnest persuasions Mr. Whittingham led his friend to accept the editorial chair; but scarcely was the occupant seated when began the *cliquetis d'armes* often afterward heard from these two fencers, who were in some respects too much alike for either to allow his rapier to remain sheathed while that of the other was drawn.

The first attack was made by Seabury, October 12th, on the occasion of the publication of a sermon preached before the alumni of the Seminary on "Worldly Prepossessions to be Forestalled by Education." Whittingham promptly answered the strictures made on his discourse. But when M. [probably Dr. McVickar] interposed "the shield of a friend between brethren who have other and higher duties to engage them than a war of words on a point in which all your readers see that they are both right," the editor accepted the intervention as "a termination rather than a settlement." In all these contests Mr. Whittingham labored under a disadvantage—he was excitable.

On October 1st the year of vacation ended, and without the results anticipated. The purposed work had been interrupted, and there had not been the hoped-for leisure which was to have refreshed overtaxed strength. Mr. Forbes gave up the charge which had been intrusted to him, and it was resumed by Mr. Whittingham in much the same state of body and mind in which he had been when he laid it

down. His life went on as during the year before, with the exception that the pestilence had been forgotten and that there were now none of the carking cares of an editor's life. The routine of parochial duties and ordinary study was broken only by frequent calls to attend some of the many committees to which he belonged.

The closing months of this year were not happy. There was a constant depression, resulting from a sense of having come short of one's standard. A quotation from one of Robert Hall's letters shows his state of mind :

"I am perfectly devoured with an impatience to redeem time and to be of lasting benefit to the world, at least to the Church." To this he adds : "It expresses my feeling exactly. *Yet I do nothing!*"

In contrast with what he thought he ought to be doing he did nothing. Impatience of mind and depression of nerves reacted on each other. Yet to others he did not seem so unhappy as he states himself to have been. Referring to his being at that time twenty-seven, he quotes again from Hall :

What opportunities of knowledge and improvement have I lost! I have now reached the meridian of life and am but a child.

Hall was thirty-seven when he wrote this. Whittingham thought that he would die young, that twenty-seven was past the meridian of his life.

On December 3d he entered in his diary :

Yesterday was my twenty-seventh birthday, of which I was not even aware until reminded of it by my grandfather's visit of congratulation. . . . It is not in my power to disenthral my captive soul; and yet how stupidly inattentive have I been as regards the only mode of obtaining freedom—*prayer*. Oh for a praying spirit! O Holy Spirit, give me the desire and the ability to ask for Thy saving influences with the earnestness and constancy which my situation demands! A teacher of others, I am myself a babe in knowl-

edge and practice. A spiritual guide, I am wandering in error and ignorance, only not hopeless, because the mercy and power of God are illimitable. I am utterly unfit for the situation I hold. Nothing but the belief that God's Providence has called me to it and is able to maintain me in it, accomplishing His plans of mercy even with such wretched instruments as I, could induce me to occupy it another day.

O Merciful Father, visit me in Thy compassion, enlighten my dark mind, strengthen my weak resolves, supply me with that energy and devotedness which I so much lack, and draw me that I may come to Thee!

In such self-accusations there may be seen not simply a picture of humility to be copied, but an example to be avoided. However unworthy one may rightly judge himself to be, the being able to say "God has called me to the situation I hold" should beget trust.

On April 3d he wrote: "Despondent—almost despairing." The utterance is accompanied by "Unwell all day," words now frequently recurring. On one occasion, through sheer weakness he fell and so hurt himself as to be confined to the house during a week. His Sunday services at times would have been interrupted, but for the kindness of friends.

While thus depressed there came to him his first sorrow through bereavement. His little fairy daughter, the delight of his heart, was taken from him. Sorrow of course passed away, but forgetfulness never came. When another daughter was born to him he called her Mary, and when this daughter made him a grandfather—when he himself, an old man, was about to sink into the grave, still this first little Mary played about his chair, and came from under his study table, and drew him away from his books; and, more than this, he never forgot to mention her before God when he prayed for his children.

Sick himself and the two children sick, the family had gone to Orange. On April 21st he writes much more fully than his custom was.

Rose at 5½ pp. Prepare to go down to the city, business for the Press imperatively calling me. Dear Mary much worse, I fear dangerously ill. . . . Evening: On arrival find my child still worse. Disease pronounced an affection of the brain. My dear child's sufferings great. She knows me. Nurse her about two hours. At 8½ give her drink. She being unwilling to take it, I tell her to say Please! hoping that then she will take what she has been induced to ask for. Faintly and most imploringly she obeys me, and just articulates Please, taking the offered drink as I had anticipated. Her last word. She never again will speak to me nor know me, till time shall be no more. It rings in my ears and rends my heart. Thou, O Father, hast taught me by Thy Son that Thou art more ready to grant the prayer for Thy Spirit which Thou teachest and biddest me offer than I to fulfil the prompted petition of my darling—that Thou hearest the faint and mourning cry of a sin-struck heart with more tender affection, and rememberest it with more enduring love than agitated and still agitates my bosom at the hearing and recollection of the dying accents of my little one. Oh, may I never forget the lesson she has taught me of ready submission to my Father's promptings. She died, though she took the draught. If I drink the water which Thou offerest I shall never die. Oh let me drink and live! Retired with H. (leaving baby with mother) at 11½ pp. jointly.

Tuesday, April 22d.—My Edward's third birthday. My Mary's eternal birthday. Waked at 5½, after a sad night, with the news that my little Mary is dying. Go down and find her in agonies, which they tell me have held ever since a few moments after we left her last night. Earnestly pray for her release. . . . Thank God, He enables me to say with my whole heart, "Thy will be done!" and to thank Him for His visitation as an act of tenderest love. At sunrise, a few minutes after my seeing her, she breathed out her sinless spirit (never stained with actual guilt, and washed in the blood of Jesus from the pollutions which her sinful parents gave her) into her Redeemer's keeping. To Him as to a faithful Creator and loving Saviour I thankfully commit it. But while praise, ardent and I trust sincere, trembles on my lips, sighs convulse my breast, and a pang such as I never knew or imagined rends my heart. I thank God most for the visitation. Greatly have we needed it. It is infinitely less than we deserve. We were utterly unworthy the blessing; and yet in the very recall we receive another, I hardly know whether I ought not to say greater. We are made parents of a glorified spirit and can commit our child's beautiful—and oh, how

much loved!—form to earth's bosom in sure and certain hope that it shall one day be awakened in the glorious likeness of its Saviour. May we be fitted to join it, is my prayer, my prayer almost of agony —for I feel how unfit in all respects, I am . . . for participation in the pure and holy joys of my redeemed babe.

The Sunday following the burial of his babe, after service in St. Luke's Church, of which he had been allowed to take but a short part, Mr. Whittingham was waited on by two of his vestry and nearest friends, who "called to inform him that Dr. Stewart had requested them to say that he must relinquish his engagements or die. That he was on the verge of a hasty consumption."

"Blow upon blow!" he writes; "what to do, I know not. To resign at once seems my only course. What will become of me and of my family, God only knows. But Jehovah Jireh."

And God did provide.

It is touching to see that the entry in his diary that same evening is a wail for a man who had been his servant, and who was now accused of theft.

This kind of trouble is even worse than the providential visitations of Thursday and this morning.

The next day there was a consultation of physicians, the result of which was an order.

At once, and for the present, entirely relinquish study and public duties and leave the seaboard. What to do I know not. All the morning looking over my books, selecting such as I can sell in case of emergency.

Desperate resource of a scholar! One, however, not resorted to; nor, indeed, was any sacrifice needed to meet the exigencies.

"*Frater in angustiis comprobatur.*"

Dr. Turner, of the Seminary, offered to supply his church

once a day until the last of June; and the Rev. Mr. Cuming to undertake all other Sunday duty, and then, at the last of June, to exchange duties for three months, he to take the entire charge of the parish, and Mr. Whittingham to travel in the West in behalf of the Sunday-School Union. Dr. McVickar at once suggested a European tour, and gave assurance that all necessary funds should be supplied should such travel meet the approval of the physicians, and that "all should be made easy for the visit to Europe."

The vestry declined to give advice, but in the most frank and kindly spirit appointed a committee to confer with the rector and consult some eminent physician in conjunction with those who had already expressed their opinion, on the probabilities of restoration to fitness for parochial duties in any given time. The decision reached by Dr. Bush was that the case was one of confirmed chronic bronchitis—the lungs being but slightly, if at all, affected—which would terminate in aggravated pulmonitis if neglected, although there was no immediate danger; that entire cessation from duty was demanded; that it was not probable that he would ever be able to officiate in New York with impunity; that he might be perfectly restored either by inland travel or by some months' residence in a warm, dry climate, that of the south of Europe being preferable.

When this sentence was received Mr. Whittingham at once sent his resignation to the vestry, and on the same day, observing the advertisement of a vessel then in port about to sail for Gibraltar, it struck him that cheapness and regard for health might be combined in a trip to the south of Spain. He submitted the matter to his father, who approved the plan, and it was suggested that his brother Van Ingen might with advantage accompany him.

On the next day, May 21st, the vestry accepted the tendered resignation; gave him his full salary to July, and pledged four hundred dollars per annum for two years subsequent.

"This generous award," he says, "will enable me to go. Father approves; so do the physicians, very decidedly; so do other friends."

Two days afterward he was "writing letters and *studying the Spanish grammar*." All preparations had to be made within ten days. The last work he did was to index the remaining signatures of Volume IV. of the Standard Works, that source of so much disquietude. From a great part of the labor of preparation for departure he was relieved through the kindness of many friends. All such things as could be done by others were so done. Ample provision was made for his own pecuniary wants by his father and personal friends, by his vestry and by contributions of regretting members of his congregation, and by the vestry of Trinity Parish.* He was freed from all anxiety with regard to those he left, for Mr. Aldis "undertook the

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* After his departure Mrs. Whittingham received from the rector of Trinity Church the following letter:

NEW YORK, June 10, 1834.

MY DEAR MADAM:

I hasten to communicate a piece of intelligence which I have no doubt will be very gratifying to you.

At a meeting of our vestry last evening, after many kind expressions of concern for the health of your husband and of the value of his services to the Church at large, a donation of $500 was voted to him toward the expenses of his journey, to be paid to the treasurer of St. Luke's Church. There was never anything done in that body with more entire unanimity and more cordial good feeling; and I need not add that it was peculiarly gratifying to myself.

That God may restore your husband to you in renewed health is the earnest prayer of Your sincere friend,

WM. BERRIAN.

A like donation of five hundred dollars was at a later period added to this sum; in fact, this further contribution was contemplated from the first. Such an act of kindness, by such a body, marks the esteem in which Mr. Whittingham was then held by his fellow-churchmen in New York. One-half of this generous gift of Trinity was unexpended in travel; and on his return Mr. Whittingham was prompt to return it, with warm expressions of gratitude, but the vestry thereon begged him to accept as a personal gift what had been contributed to a special fund.

management of his money matters." Letters of commendation, including his brother in their terms, poured in on him from all sides—from private friends and from dignitaries in the Church; from Mr. Kursheedt, a learned Jew of New York, with whom there had been previously an interchange of books, and intercourse brought about by common love of Hebrew; and also from the amiable Archbishop Du Bois of New York, who, besides circular letters, gave him such as would especially commend him to the Cardinals Weld and Fesch, and to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Cheverus, so favorably known as the preacher to the Northern Indians and as Bishop of Boston, and who about that time had been created cardinal, though the fact could not have been then known in New York.

On the day of sailing dear, gentle Mr. Clement C. Moore, so gratefully remembered by those who have been his pupils at the Seminary, brought "a letter from the vestry of a kind only too kind," and took leave with tears, begging his friend, if at any time short of funds, to use, without the slightest hesitation, his name for any amount short of a thousand dollars.

NEW YORK, May 27, 1834.

TO THE REV. WM. R. WHITTINGHAM:

Reverend and dear Sir—It is not as churchwardens and vestrymen, acting in our official capacity, that we now address you. The resolutions of our Board consequent upon your resignation of the Rectorship of St. Luke's Church are formal transactions not adequate to the feelings of our hearts upon the present occasion. We now come forward as parting friends to bid you a respectful and affectionate farewell.

It would be trite and useless to reciprocate expressions of regret; for you must be aware of the sentiments which we cherish toward you; and you well know that of all the trials to which we are exposed in this state of pain and sorrow, none are more severe than lasting separation from those whom we esteem and love.

That you should be arrested in the midst of your useful and honorable career by bodily infirmity and the threats of a mortal disease is a circumstance which in itself appears distressing in the extreme.

Yet, God is our witness that we intend nothing like adulation or exaggerated phraseology when we assure you that there is something in the character of your spirit which seems to forbid excessive grief on account of any of the calamities of life with which you may be visited. A spirit which during its abode in the body has maintained uninterrupted communion with its God, which has learned habitually to rise above the grovelling interests of this transient scene, which feels a deep and humble conviction that all the dispensations of Providence are just and merciful, and which devoutly cherishes the sentiment that its noblest sphere of existence and of action is not in time but in eternity; a spirit like this, whose natural tendency appears to be upward, and whose wings seem to spread for a better world, can never, on its own account, be a subject of permanent grief or compassion.

If it please God to prolong your life, your recollections can never fail to be to you sources of consolation and peace. Recollections not of what mankind in general esteem and seek, but of manifold and arduous duties faithfully performed in the face of danger, and in despite of bodily and mental illness and exhaustion. You must ever be conscious that you bear about with you the avowed approbation of the wise and good, and the secret respect even of those who may have openly opposed you; that you are followed by the blessing of the needy and the destitute whose wants you have relieved, of the widow and the orphan whom you have visited and consoled, of the ignorant and the outcast whom you have instructed and reclaimed, and that the dying prayers of the poor and wretched, to whom, reckless of your own risk or inconvenience, you have in their last moments kindly and freely administered the consolations of religion, rise up as a thick cloud of incense in your behalf before the mercy-seat of God.

Should it please the Almighty to take you to Himself in the midst of your days, we should be consoled by the firm belief that your departure would be as tranquil as that of a traveller going from a strange land to his own home; and that no spirit ever passed in the confidence of a more certain faith, in the comfort of a more reasonable religious and holy hope; more in favor with its God or more in perfect charity with the world.

Farewell, respected and beloved pastor. However distant you may be from us, we shall ever cherish the remembrance of you in our hearts. And we humbly offer our supplications to Heaven that we may be enabled to imitate the firmness of your faith and the purity of your life; and that when we shall have passed through this state

of probation, we may meet you in a better world and never more to part.

This letter, which was signed by the churchwardens and the vestrymen, was written by Dr. Moore. One cannot but be struck by the different light in which the life and character of Mr. Whittingham is placed by one who had been intimate with him from his boyhood from that in which he himself looks upon it when in his "closet." It is but natural that he should write of this letter, "too kind, for it is (oh how much!) too strong in its statements and representations."

CHAPTER VII.

THE MEDITERRANEAN.

1834–1835.

The master of the William Tell, the brig in which Mr. Whittingham and Mr. Van Ingen had taken passage for Gibraltar, was Captain James Riley, then well known through his "Authentic Narrative" of his shipwreck on the western coast of Africa in 1815, when in command of the brig Commerce, of his slavery among the Arabs, from which he was redeemed by the British consul at Mogadore, Mr. Wiltshire, and of the manners and customs of the people among whom he had had hard experiences.*

The crew of the William Tell was a motley one, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French being spoken. A desired opportunity for practice was thus given to those who expected to have need soon of nearly all these tongues. There were two Genoese steerage passengers and one fellow-occupant of the cabin, the latter a bright, intelligent, unfortunate Pole, Captain Kotzowicz, one of two hundred and twenty Poles brought to the United States five weeks previously by Austrian frigates. Five years before the captain had escaped from the Russians, and all this while had been supposed by his wife and child to be dead, for he was afraid to make himself in any way known to them, and he was now under a false name. He was going to Gibraltar in hopes

* The book is now lost sight of. It was a delight of boyhood in days when exaggerated fictitious adventure had not yet made all authentic narrative tame to a boy's imagination.

of finding employment in the Spanish army, or among the French in Algiers, and so to await another opportunity to fight for Poland. Cooper, the novelist, had cared for him, had paid his passage, and had told him that a small sum had been collected for him and should be paid to him before sailing; but from some cause the brig sailed sooner than had been expected, this money had not been given him, and he was now going to utter strangers literally without a penny in his pockets—which is much the same thing as to say that some gold pieces which had been given to Mr. Whittingham for a special purpose were not so expended. The cabin accommodations were such as were to be expected on a vessel trading to Mogadore, "small and not over cleanly; but good will and good humor will season everything and make all right." The spirit thus expressed at the beginning of the voyage did make all right. Of the voyage a letter from the captain to his owner or consignees may tell all that is necessary, and gives, what is gratifying, a relation of the impression made by his clerical passengers on a hardy man of the world, of many experiences and varied, for besides being a sailor he had been a member of the Ohio Legislature.

GIBRALTAR BAY, June 27, 1834.

SIR: I left New York on May 31st. After a blustering passage of head winds, touched on the Great Bank of Newfoundland in thirteen days, dreading a long passage; but from the Bank we had fair winds and strong, and crossed entirely the Atlantic from Newfoundland to Cape St. Vincent in nine days—a run unprecedented. From thence three days of rough beating against an eastern gale brought us in here on the 25th inst. Mr. Whittingham had a tough spell of sea-sickness for nearly ten days; he soon gained an appetite, and his soreness of the throat, and pain in the side seemed very much to abate, while his general health improved most astonishingly. He is truly a man of great talents, fine education, and liberal mind; cheerful in his temperament, unassuming, conciliatory, possessing all the requisites of a great and good man, as the foundation was laid in common sense, and a vigorous, powerful mind. Such a

man would do honor to any situation; and I look forward with an eye of faith to a time when he will return to his home in health and fine spirits, and become an ornament to the profession he has chosen, and be carried to the highest post of honor and usefulness by his merits, and that I may live to see him a bishop.

This forecast of faith the admiring sea captain did not quite live to see fulfilled; he died at sea in the spring of the year of the bishop's consecration.

In another long letter from the Bay of Gibraltar to G. N. S. Rowland, Esq., taken up chiefly with accounts of his passengers Whittinghan and Van Ingen, and telling of their exhibiting traits of liberality and goodness of disposition seldom met with in passengers at sea, where they are apt to find things uncomfortable and to keep up a grumbling discontentment, the captain writes:

My curiosity was considerably excited before sailing on learning from his friends Mr. Whittingham's character, and interested in a man who had acquired so many and so responsible admirers. And permit me to thank you for having been instrumental in procuring me the pleasure of his company and acquaintance.

The variety of his information about nations and countries and the movement of the orbs, etc., and the useful sciences which he, the captain, had been obliged to study and had been made acquainted with by long experience, seemed surprising "in a man of his age." The captain's regard was not expressed in words only. Before parting with his new friend at Gibraltar, "not knowing what might happen in the course of his stay in Europe," he gave him credit with his banker in Marseilles for $2,000.

The object in going to Gibraltar was to enter Spain. Great was the disappointment on learning, when off the port, that because of cholera this entrance was closed. Capt. Riley, after consultation with his merchant, determined not to take *pratique*, *i.e.*, permission to enter port, but, if allowed, to discharge his lading for Gibraltar, to go

into quarantine, and this ended, to sail to his final destination, Mogadore. Permission was obtained for the landing of the passengers. To the Pole, after some hesitation, a leave of ten days only was granted, because the lieutenant-governor was unwilling to run the risk of offending Austria by receiving into Europe one whom that Government had so lately taken such pains to place beyond the seas. To the stay of the Americans the same term was fixed from another reason: all communication inland being cut off, there was danger of a scarcity of provisions, and it was thought "necessary to avoid any danger of increase of population." When this was told to Mr. Whittingham he remarked: "Il faut prendre des mesures avec les dames enceintes, il me semble!"

Their permit was, however, afterward extended, and the danger feared was also escaped; for Spain gave permission for a supply of provisions to "this foreign fortress sliced out of her territory."

The impressions produced by the Rock, as seen from the brig lying outside the harbor, are thus expressed:

I can hardly persuade myself that it is real and not an illusion, or some ingenious model constructed to please and astonish the beholder. The town shows itself to as much advantage as if it had been built for nothing else. Its acclivity makes every house conspicuous. Its regularity, in the utmost irregularity of plan, gives it an air of artificialness that compels me to look on it as a card-house, or pretty little model of a fancy town. Yellow is the prevailing color, not our deep chrome or ochre, but a light and airy variety between gamboge and straw. This is interspersed, however, with almost every other shade and color, and beautifully relieved by the green of the trees and gardens, which seem to be placed in every spot at all capable of receiving them. They fill interstices in every part of the town; but stretching up the steep face of the hill, one-third or one-half way up, there are three or four of considerable size, and on the right of the main body of the town the Parade appears to occupy a large extent of ground, and to fill it beautifully. Beyond it again is a large cluster of buildings apparently better than those in the northern part, and beyond these

again, on Europa Point, many which have large gardens full of shrubbery and trees. A few of the latter, too, cling to the face of the rock in spots not enclosed as private property, and two in particular crown the summit about one-fourth the distance from the northernmost end. The most remarkable circumstance attending the first view of the Rock and the town is to me the great degree of illusion as to size. I cannot bring myself to regard the whole as much larger than a common hill covering a few acres, with a little garden prettily laid out upon the side. To look at it and then recollect that sixteen thousand souls are probably now, and thirty thousand have been accommodated on that seemingly little spot, perplexes and confounds me. . . . In the bay, Algesiras, beautifully white, of considerable size, and by its gentle slope showing its beauty and size to the best advantage, first attracted our attention. It is too distant to have much distinctness to the eye. Near it, however, we see one of the common Moorish towers, and distinguish enclosures which are evidently orchards.

The stay of Mr. Whittingham and his companion in Gibraltar was as pleasant as good accommodations and exceeding kindness on the part of gentlemen to whom they had brought letters—particularly Mr. Sprague—could make an infested place. A good deal of their time was spent in going out to vessels in the harbor or offing which might be bringing them letters, or might possibly afford means of sending letters home. Their thoughts were all the while occupied with the consideration of how they should get away, and where they should go. Among other places Marseilles was particularly recommended because of its admirable lazaretto. But the expense in getting to a place which should be merely one of departure, and the prospect of forty days' quarantine, deterred them. Finally Malta was decided on, and, through regard to cost, passage in a sailing vessel.

July 19th they went on board the Parthenope, which weighed anchor in the evening and "stood out of the bay by moonlight, in which the Rock looked truly beautiful." By the next afternoon they were off Almeria, a handsome walled and fortified place. Here four days were spent by

the passengers reading and sketching, with an occasional sea-bath and limited stroll on the beach below high-water mark, while a cargo was taken aboard. All the supervision and precautions of loading in quarantine were observed, and this although cholera, which was guarded against, then prevailed in the city confessedly, and had swept off a thousand out of fifteen thousand inhabitants; fifteen or twenty cases were then occurring daily, all of which did not prevent the board of health from giving bills of *perfecta sanidad.* At night the officers of customs and of quarantine, who had spent the day in the labors of watching, solaced themselves with visits to the vessel for a treat and the profits of a little smuggling.

The Parthenope was a large polacca brig. The crew was chiefly Maltese, with an occasional Italian or Spaniard. The captain, who was also owner, a Maltese speaking Spanish; his associate master, or supercargo, about twenty years of age, was an Italian bearing the aristocratic name of the first Norman who fell at Hastings; he spoke all the languages of the Mediterranean, was familiar with ancient as well as modern Greek, was a musician and a draughtsman, and altogether an accomplished young man. The trigness of everything pertaining to the brig was noticeable, and especially so was the good humor which ruled "without a word of scolding."

Every man seemed to know his place and its duties, and to have made up his mind to do them to the best of his ability cheerfully; and the superiors seemed conscious of this, and determined to be satisfied.

On the *Domingo* no extra work was done; all hands, dressed in their Sunday's best, occupied themselves according to their taste. This was pleasing, but to American habits of thought there was something distressing in the readiness with which an old tar could turn from a tattered book of devotions to a game at cards, and another from like

occupation to the entertaining a group of his fellows with reading a fairy book, while the young supercargo twanged his guitar after having said his prayers before a picture of the Madonna.

The cleanliness and neatness which marked everything else about the polacca unfortunately did not extend to the accommodations of the cabin. The bedding was hard and damp, and not inviting through the purity of its coverings, and the table—of this Mr. Whittingham may speak for himself in a letter which also gives some account of his prison house in quarantine.

LAZARETTO, MALTA, August 6, 1834.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER :

Have you ever at dinner set yourselves in the first place to pick the worms half an inch long out of your meat, lay them on the edge of your plate, and then deliberately go on eating? If not, then you have not done what I have done. Have you ever at breakfast broken your bread into bits and carefully rattled each bit against the table to shake out, first, the worms with black heads, about a third of an inch long; second, the black beetles a quarter of an inch long, sometimes found in the chrysalis form; and, third, the fish-bugs lively as crickets and bright as silver? If not, then you have not done what I have. Have you ever in drinking water held your nose and shut your eyes, thinking it enough that the sense of taste should be aggrieved, without superaddition of offence to those of sight and smelling? If not, then you have not done what I have done. And all this in a three-weeks' trip between Gibraltar and this place, and counting ourselves in no distress at the time; and, though a little disposed to complain, or *piangolare*, as they have it in the new language which we are now beginning to chatter, yet, on the whole, counting ourselves rather well-used than otherwise, and parting with our captain and supercargo (to whom we paid six shillings each a day for such fare, exclusive of passage) on the most amiable terms. Such is life in the Mediterranean. We might have fared better if we had taken the precaution to provide our own victuals and drink and had them cooked for us. But then we should have had to eat our better fare and seen the captain and others confined to their worse—and would any one do that? Besides, it would have placed us on a very different footing in the

vessel, and you will readily perceive we should have had less to talk about afterward.

Here we are, thank God, safely arrived at a healthy place, although for the present in prison and twelve hundred miles farther from home. . . . In prison we are most effectually for the term of twenty-one days, beginning with last evening. It is some amendment for the confinement, however, that we are lodged like princes, though as a drawback to that again we are boarded a little more like beggars—*e.g.*, cut our bread with our penknives, take our sugar with our fingers, drink out of a pitcher for want of tumblers, etc., etc. John and I occupy for the accommodation of our two selves no less than four rooms, each more than twenty-five feet square and twenty high. . . . Our servant does not understand a word of English, so that we are obliged to talk Spanish and Italian (both of which he understands) continually. And we can already put together a few words of Maltese—for example (which you may read to Richard if you will): *Riccardien, mulgipl jakatoon! shmeish! ee halliee hope ee hogh, ce gipl bichee gallayta.* Which is in plain English: Richard, bring me my great jacket, I say! and take bread and water and bring me a bit of biscuit. And then to hurry him I should say: *Spicherie! Glunk!* Make haste! quick! You perceive how delightfully harmonious the spoken tongue must be. It is spoken only, not being capable, they tell me, of being written. It is said to be a mixture of the old Punic, the Arabic, and the Italian. The numerals show [as he proceeds to show] the Arabic derivation.

Before leaving the polacca, in which, despite the hard fare described, three weeks had been pleasantly spent, let us read what was written the evening before reaching Malta.

Still running nine knots, in sight at five, and now with a strong sea sometimes driving on our counter with force almost terrific. The waves full as high as with a similar wind in the Atlantic, but very short and broken so as to make them much more troublesome to a vessel and dangerous for small craft. Two or three times large broken waves came together in such a manner as to produce a sound exactly like clapping of hands on a grand scale. I never before understood the expression, "The floods clap their hands." We witnessed nothing of the kind in the Atlantic. The "depths of the sea" were much more conspicuous here, where three or four waves,

perhaps fifty or sixty feet in length, might be seen at once pouring into a basin of equal depth with those formed by the Atlantic sea.

Early in the morning of August 5th the vessel came to anchor in the harbor at Malta, and before evening the passengers were established in their commodious quarters in the lazaretto, with the comfortable assurance that there they should stay during twenty-one days. In the forenoon, and before he had received the letters of introduction which had been sent to him, the American consul called on his countrymen,* they being in a balcony of the lazaretto, while his boat lay beneath. This was earnest of the kindness shown while they were in quarantine and on the island, by the consul, Mr. Eynaud, and many others.

Those in durance are allowed to receive visitors in a parlatorio, a room prepared for the purpose with two breast-high barriers eight feet apart, separating the clean from the unclean. The day after his arrival Mr. Whittingham was agreeably surprised by a card from "Rev. Joseph Wolff, missionary," announcing his presence in the parlatorio. Here they held a most interesting interview more than an hour long. Mr. Wolff, who was then unordained and a self-constituted missionary, had just returned from Bockhara, Thibet, and Affghanistan, whither he had been to set before Mohammedan and heathen the advantage to be gained by the reception of the Gospel; and now it was his object, by lectures and otherwise, to set before Christians the ignorance and moral debasement of the Eastern nations whom he had visited, and the consequent duties of the Christian Church. During a second interview, the conversation having turned on the conduct of certain Eastern missionaries who by their indiscreet zeal had hindered their opportunities for usefulness, Mr. Wolff said:

"They begin at the wrong end. So in Greece. Why begin with

* Not of necessity countrymen. Fifty years ago American consuls in the Mediterranean were not generally American citizens.

attacking holy water, mummery, the worship of the Virgin? Are there not more important things than these? Let the truth, the great truth, be inculcated, the foundation of this superstructure of minor errors will be sapped, and it will fall of itself." He instanced his course at ——. The pasha inquired his business. "I am a Jew," said he, "and come to reason with my brethren about Jesus, to prove that he is the Messiah."

This was truth, and contained nothing contrary to Mohammedan prejudice. The pasha had no objections, but prohibited his having anything to do with Mussulmans. Soon, however, he was curious to know how he reasoned with his brethren. Wolff told him, mixing in matter that bore on Mohammedanism. To this the pasha wanted the answer of the Mollahs, and introduced Wolff to them. Finally, he and they agreed to demand an account of Wolff's own belief, and as such he preached to them the Gospel. Suppose he had gone to the pasha and asked permission to preach to the Mollahs, what would have been the consequence? A denial, perhaps death: in either case the frustration of his object; in the latter the termination of his usefulness. Men told Wolff when he was going to Tartary that it was madness to think of preaching the Gospel there. So perhaps it would have been in their way. But he thought that talking about the Gospel would do some good, if not all that preaching it might; and he went and found opportunities of making the faith in Jesus known where it had never been heard before. He went "to open the door for other efforts; and he did not begin by attempting to beat it down."

Within a few days Lady Georgiana accompanied her husband, Mr. Wolff, when visiting his clerical acquaintance. On August 22d the prisoners were delighted by the information that their quarantine had ended and that they might be admitted to *pratique*, *i.e.*, permission to remain in the island, on obtaining which bond and security had to be furnished. Three days' grace had been extended to the passengers from Gibraltar, information having been re-

ceived that the cholera had disappeared there. It may be supposed that they who were thus released sooner than they had expected did not insist on having explained to them how they had ceased to be dangerous because the next who should come from Gibraltar would bring with them clean bills. Diligent study of Italian and of the history of Malta, and the reading of other books sent to them by the consul and by Mr. Wolff and Mr. J. Hookham Frere, had made lighter what else would have been a very tedious detention of eighteen days. On returning for baggage to the lazaretto the day after having taken apartments in Valetta, "the bare walls looked comfortless enough, its confinement horrible."

Five weeks were spent in Valetta. The effect of the climate in itself was enough to make the stay pleasant. But there was much to interest—intercourse with intelligent strangers of common tastes and principles who became as friends; a strange land so unlike home; a people who were a study because of their religion, their habits, their race. For the first time Mr. Whittingham was in a community where the mass of the people were Papists. However familiar with the doctrines of the Roman Church from books, he had never before seen the practical effects of its teachings.

On S. Augustine's day, which came not long after his liberation from the lazaretto, he attended high mass in the Church of S. Augostino, and describes the service of the festival at length in terms that amusingly show how little ritual had then challenged his attention. The character of the music, the formal observances, the florid and, to him, little devotional nature of all the service, were far from pleasing; and when a monk, or canon, came to preach, he did not know how to reconcile "the idle pomp and meaningless ceremony" with what he heard. The sermon, which was in Italian, he was able to follow readily, losing only here and there a word.

It was an oration on the triumph of Divine grace over sin and heresy in the person and through the instrumentality of S. Augustine. The power of the Spirit of God to convert, reclaim, and sanctify; the utter vanity of all other resort than to him for justification and eternal life; the complete efficacy of his operations, were the preacher's theme, and so handled that we would have thought that we were listening to Luther in his earlier day. There were not more than a dozen sentences in the whole sermon (all having relation to the saintship and intercession of Austin) that would have been inconsistent with a Protestant pulpit. There were continually recurring the strongest expressions concerning the work of grace in the heart, and the absolute necessity of its operation by the Spirit, and the utter inefficacy of any other means, the entire futility of any other hope of salvation. . . . He preached about an hour and we were sorry when he left the pulpit.

The multitude of images at the corners of the street and elsewhere—some of them fine statues—which all received some act of reverence from every Maltese, however hurried, in passing, the miraculous paintings, the indulgenced devotions—everything manifesting and fostering the superstition of the people—made our traveller feel like a Paul at Athens. And yet the traits of character of the Maltese which he noted constrained his admiration, and deserved it. From the English officials he learned of the few instances of crime among the lower classes, and these, as known to the courts, chiefly such as the pressure of extreme poverty leads to; for himself he saw the marks of the habits of industry—which he dwells on with pleasure despite the worry experienced everywhere in Southern Europe from the importunity of beggars—the evident tokens of family affection, and especially of temperance and contented, cheerful endurance of the hardships of life, which were, among the laboring classes, as he notes, far greater than those which the slaves in America were called on to bear.

Rambling one day he followed throughout its length a long street (*Dei Due Porte*), and notes:

Found the houses, though evidently inhabited by a poor popu-

lation, generally greatly superior to the dwellings of the same class among us; almost invariably neat and sometimes prettily and tastefully decorated. Whenever we could peep through the entrance-hall into the inner court it was, however small, full of luxuriant vegetation; and often in houses the exterior of which promised nothing of the sort, we saw exotics, in particular the giant-leaved nymphœa, etc. But the people looked poor enough—not miserable, for that they do not seem to know how to be—but certainly the very reverse of what we should call comfortable.

To his parents he wrote:

We are in the midst of novelties . . . Romanism in its zenith, poverty in its acme; and, though strange and uncouth, not uncommon, splendor in its most glaring contrast. One cannot walk a mile at noon without seeing hundreds of men, women, and children dining on a crust of bread and a piece of hard, salt, sheep's milk cheese half as large as a man's finger; nor at night without almost stumbling over the same number stretched in the open street to sleep, the skies their chamber and their covering, a piece of board their own size their bed. They are thankful to get work for two pence sterling the day. Yet withal they are merry and noisy as crickets; seeing sights, and making and enjoying *festas* almost every day of the week.

Toward the close of his stay in Valetta Mr. Whittingham with a party, in a comfortable cutter of twenty tons, made an excursion to Gozo and around Malta. Gozo is a fortified island belonging to or connected with Malta, lying to the northwest of it. The pleasure of the visit here was much increased by the attentions of Mr. Somerville, the chief magistrate, to whom Mr. Frere had introduced Mr. Whittingham. If we may believe the traditions this was the abode of Calypso, for her grotto is here pointed out. An object of more interest, indeed the chief attraction to the island, is what is called the giant tower, the ruins of three ancient temples on a high hill and looking south, built of immensely large stones. These ruins Mr. Whittingham considered to be those of a temple to Baal. In one of them he found a round altar and a large conical stone which

seemed to him to be that image of abomination which, when Judah did evil, they set up on every high hill and under every green tree. Mr. Frere afterward confirmed this judgment, and gave as an explanation of certain fresher and incomplete sculptures about the temple that they were the marks of an attempt to restore the worship. He also mentioned what seemed to show that the place had to be defiled with ordure to prevent worship there. The Maltese are descendants of the worshippers of Baal, and—bigoted Roman Catholics though they be—some of their observances connected with Christian festivals show that their old heathen rites have not been all abandoned. On the feast of S. John Baptist, perhaps also on that of SS. Peter and Paul, in groves and on high places large fires are kindled, and through the fire doll-babies are passed by the rejoicing Christians, who, it is to be hoped, have no thought of what rites they are commemorating. Quite a trade in the manufacturing of these dolls is kept up by the demand for their consumption on these festivals.

From the first Mr. Whittingham had been received in Valetta in a manner—to use his own words—he had not the slightest right to expect, and which was due to the brotherly kindness of Mr. and Lady Georgiana Wolff. Soon the courtesy shown to a stranger was changed for the intimacy, almost, of old friends. "We are ashamed," he wrote home, "to find ourselves overloaded with kindness and attention." Especially was he touched by the friendliness of the Chief Justice, Sir John Stoddard, the early friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge, with whom Coleridge lived when in Malta, who "was communicative as a father with a son." The person from whom he received the most of benefit, always gratefully remembered and spoken of, was the Right Honorable J. Hookham Frere, the well-known author and diplomat, among the first Greek scholars of his age, who, now retired from public affairs, had chosen Malta as the home of an honored old age, and was, as Mr. Whittingham writes,

"the chief man of the island, as hospitable and as universally respected as his predecessor in the apostles' time."

The coming to Malta had been chiefly with a view to obtain freedom to go elsewhere. Nowhere could the object in view in leaving home have been better advanced, for, with an occasional pain in the side and soreness of throat, health was steadily improving. The duration of the stay in the island was governed by anticipated weather. It had been decided to go to Sicily so soon as should have passed a short rainy season of five days, which began and ended on the very day announced to our travellers a month before. These five days ended, there were promised to them six or eight weeks of the pleasantest weather of the whole year, known as S. Martin's summer.

Sicily is about seventy miles distant from Malta. The passage thither was made in a *speronara*, for which, for three persons furnishing their own food, fifty dollars were asked, and eighteen accepted when one accustomed to the ways of the country bargained. A *speronara* is a long open row-boat, sharp at both ends, which rise considerably out of the water. La Stella, under the patronage of S. Fortunata, was of nine tons burthen, and had a crew of ten men with eight oars. When a breeze was favorable, from a mast in the bow, which might be unshipped, and a staff in the stern, five large sails were spread. Amidships was a well for baggage and freight, covered with a tarpaulin, and astern a shelter something like that of a market-wagon, but more permanently made of light boards and tarpaulin, under which passengers could lie or sit but not stand.

The passage was a pleasant one of two days and a night. A second night, however, was spent aboard, for their port, Terra Nova, was reached after custom-house hours. The next morning was Sunday, when the little town was seen somewhat to an advantage, for at least one-half the men wore clean white caps in honor of the day—the only thing clean that could be met with. Our travellers in due time

presented themselves with their passports to the proper officer, a nobleman whom they found in conversation with a general in uniform. They were politely received—nothing could have been more courteous than the Sicilian nobleman—but in climbing to his office they made their first acquaintance with Sicilian filth, which cannot be described in English words; and thenceforward it was only when the eye was fixed upon the charming distant scenery that filth was lost sight of. Mr. Whittingham was accompanied, during his tour of Sicily, by a son of Mr. Somerville, of Gozo, a youth of eighteen, a pleasant companion, and having the advantage of being as familiar with Italian as with English. The first point of attraction was Girgenti, the ancient Agrigentum, where are found the most interesting remains of Cyclopean and of Doric architecture. To Girgenti they would have sailed had it been possible without too great a loss of time. Landing at Terra Nova, which is half way between Girgenti and Syracuse, involved the necessity of going over the same ground twice, as the intention was to go to Messina by the east and northeast coasts. Their tour was one of three hundred and fifty miles, eighty of which were on foot, and the rest on horses or mules; rambling here and there, and along the foot of Mount Ætna, which they did not ascend, going only to the Great Chestnut. Discomforts in travelling there were many, but knowing them all, they were ready at the end of their three weeks' tour to begin it again. There was so much to please and astonish. But yet delight and wonder was not equalled by the disgust and pity excited by the wretchedness of the people, and the evidence of what they suffered from the conduct of their rulers.

"Familiar as I thought myself to be with the condition of the south of Europe, and was with books which profess to describe it," Mr. Whittingham wrote, "I had no idea of the mode in which the people of this island contrive to exist. I did not conceive of any part of what we call the civilized world as dragging on such an existence."

A letter to Mr. Holmes, chosen because it is brief, gives the impression received from his travels thus far.

MESSINA, October 17, 1834.

MY DEAR, TRUE-HEARTED FRIEND AND BROTHER:

How shall I talk with you across the four thousand miles of seas and ocean that divide us? How shall I condense the thousand things I have to say to you into the scanty space of this little bit of paper, made so small purposely, because I cannot trust myself with larger, having more than enough to do in the few hours which will elapse before the sailing of the vessel that is to take this to America? I never knew our race, my dear Holmes, till I came into this beautiful island and among the miserable people from which I date. I could talk or write all night of the strange things that have presented themselves to my astonished sight. Strange as phenomena in morals—in "the natural history of the human heart," as he who writes on enthusiasm would say. I could declaim till I and you would be heartily tired against the spiritual tyranny and civil lethargy and oppression which have crushed into the dust the fair elements of nature and of mind among which I have been wandering the last three weeks. Yes, only three weeks! and I seem to myself to have grown wise, or more properly knowing, by ages. At Gibraltar everything was new enough, to be sure, to one coming from our fair, broad, plentiful land. To be cooped up on a bare rock, in a garrison town, with sixteen thousand souls, all, like myself, dependent on those who hold the sword for leave to come and go, was in itself a strange thing. To find men, able-bodied men, willing and glad to work a day for 12½ cents, was still more strange. To see them with bare heads, legs, and feet, tottering through the kennel under loads which we consign to the brute creation, was more and more novel and unpleasant.

When we came to Malta, to find this cheapness of labor and endurance of toil increased was a new source of wonder; to find hundreds cooped up in spaces which even in our most crowded cities would be thought hardly to afford room for a score, was another; but to see, as I have done repeatedly, long lines of men lying stretched on the bare earth under the open sky at midnight, and to learn that they had, in the year round, no other lodging, was strangest of all. Still there was industry and thrift and energy, and, above all, cleanliness. Do you laugh to find me placing cleanliness above all those estimable qualities? Wait till you have been with me among a people stinking under the sun, and rotting, mind and body,

in their own filth, before you pretend to appreciate the consequences negative and positive of cleanliness. It was reserved for Sicily to show us human beings in a climate inferior to none on this earth, on a soil bearing almost without culture, and with culture yielding in abundance the fruits of Asia, Africa, America, and Northern as well as Southern Europe—men, thus placed, living as brutes and worse than brutes. Yet they are industrious, patient of labor, cheerful, and by no means deficient in mental powers. Their priesthood has extinguished the light of intellect; their government benumbs the energy of enterprise and labor. They are careless, because hopeless; and because careless, filthy; and because filthy, debased and demoralized. Thank God, my dear H., that he has "cast your lines in pleasant places." The poorest of our poor live better than a Sicilian nobleman, take all in all; and our hogs are beyond comparison better off than the Sicilian poor.

These last words respecting debasement must not be taken in their strongest sense, for he finds a natural excuse for their extortion and persistent mendicancy, and says elsewhere:

They will not attempt to get your money otherwise than by fair cheating or downright begging. We have in no case discovered the slightest reason to suspect them of theft* or breach of trust. They are good-tempered, patient, civil to one another and to strangers.

And he could not but bear testimony to prevailing temperance. On a rare occasion he saw a drunken man who had been turned out of a shop near a wine-press. "His wife moaned bitterly over his case, and seemed to think him really ill—laid out there to die! We, however, were too well acquainted with the symptoms of his disease to have any such fears, and passed on, congratulating the people who could be so happily ignorant."

The effect of the tour in Sicily on Mr. Whittingham's health was that he became what, he says, he had never been before, really stout and hearty. But when examining the ruins at Taormina—ancient Tauromenium—and testing

* If not thieves, we know that some of them make admirable brigands.

in the theatre the perfect solution of the acoustic problem which is so hard a one to modern architects, a slight exposure, unnoticed, brought back pain in the throat and occasioned a loss of voice. This accident startled him, and induced him to heed the advice of more than one experienced acquaintance who had urged him to pass the winter months in Naples or its neighborhood.

After a few days spent in Messina in mere sight-seeing and not at all after the fashion of his stay in Valetta, he and his companions, rather than wait for an uncertain and dilatory packet steamer, bargained with the owner of a speronara to take them directly to Naples, he having already on board his freight for that port. Three days were lost through dependence on the professions of one who, seeing their anxiety to get away, found an excuse for breaking his engagement, and determined to try his hand at "fair cheating."

Then an equally fruitless attempt was made on a bove, a craft one degree higher than a speronara. Mr. Somerville here abandoned his friends, and concluded that he would wait for the steamer, not being, like them, troubled by the need to study economy so closely, and not having such a desire to study Sicilian character as to be willing for this end to make a voyage with nineteen deck passengers in a small vessel fully laden with carob beans, a vegetable which, when in bulk, gives out an odor so strong that some cannot stomach it. Two days and a night were spent on the bove, during which time thirty-five miles were made; and then, as the second evening drew on, the master and sailors decided that they were going to have thunder and lightning, whereupon—with the cheerful consent of all the nineteen Sicilian passengers, and with that too of the Americans, who were glad of any escape from the miseries into which they had thrust themselves—they put about and returned to Messina, reaching there before day. Happily the steamer was in port, to sail the next day, so that they

had lost no time and had only added to their experiences. Next morning they, with all other passengers, were on board at eight. After expecting all the morning that they were about to put to sea, at two o'clock they heard the word so familiar to all who have been in Italy—*Domani!* and hurried back to the hotel to try to get old quarters, but only to learn that they must wait till their betters are accommodated. The next day the steamer actually got five miles out of the harbor and then returned because of the *Molto cattivo tempo*, although the weather seemed only pleasantly fresh to our travellers. Finally, on the third day, with a diminished number of passengers, she did get away and safely reached Palermo on the day after. Here three days were spent, one of them merely waiting for halcyon seas.

On October 31st Mr. Whittingham entered the beautiful Bay of Naples—to him not so beautiful as expectation had pictured. Consultation with those to whom he was commended by introductory letters soon convinced him that he must abandon the plan for establishing himself for the winter. The cost was beyond what he could allow himself. He had left home supposing that by denying himself luxuries he could live cheaply. But he had found that to live at the rate he had expected he must give up the society of gentlemen. Whether mistaken or not, such was his conviction. Ten or twelve days were given to the charms of Naples and its neighborhood; and then taking a steamer whose stoppages of a day in each of the chief cities on the coast gave him not a little gratifying sight-seeing, he reached Marseilles. He had been attracted by the report of the perpetual spring to be found at Hyères, a small walled town about four leagues east of Toulon, once a seaport though no longer such, whose climate is said to be the driest in France. The damp and chilly weather which met him in Marseilles utterly discouraged him—for Hyères is only about fifty miles distant—but Mr. Rogers, an American merchant long resident in France, to whom he had brought letters,

reassured him, promising the health-giving climate he had hoped for, and what he probably could not find elsewhere, a quiet resting-place in a refined family. On an estate a few miles from Hyères lived a friend of Mr. Rogers, M. D'Espine, a Genevan, who after many wanderings had purchased a chateau and settled himself here.

But his earthly paradise was to him a solitude, for those who were around him were superstitious peasants, and the society of a higher class, which he might have had by going farther, was not such as suited an earnest Protestant of the evangelical Genevan school. To escape loneliness he had built two cottages near him, which he rented to health-seekers, and also was prepared to receive into his family, as boarders, a few persons who might come especially recommended to him. Mr. Rogers rightly judged that his two clerical fellow-countrymen would prove congenial companions, and as such gave them letters.

Waiting in vain for letters which did not come, nor indeed till hope had been long deferred, ten days were wasted in Marseilles in discomfort, for the season was unusually raw. Then taking the Toulon diligence, the travellers set out for Carquieranne, the residence of M. D'Espine, which was to be for them during the winter almost a home. The journey was attractive, and as, from the nature of the road a good part of the way, the progress of the diligence was slow, fully a third of the day's travel was made on foot. Toward evening, soon after having passed the clean and pleasant-looking little town of Ollioules, they entered a mountain pass, or gap, and for half an hour enjoyed the sublimest scenery they had ever beheld. The road lay along the bed of a mountain torrent, winding between immense rocks rising on either hand several hundred feet high, perpendicular, or overhanging sometimes so close as to seem to forbid passage; in one place the road had been cut out of the rock itself. No tree, no shrub, no grass even, broke the ruggedness or shrouded the bareness of the rock. On every side

there was nothing but immense masses of dead stone. No life, no motion, no sound but that of the diligence, and of another preceding it a few hundred yards, and which, as it wound through the defile, now visible and again lost behind the projecting precipices, seemed, large as a French diligence is, a mere insect crawling in the solitude. Emerging from this defile, a few miles brought them, as day closed, to the gates of Toulon.

On the next day the introductory letter from Mr. Rogers secured for them a ready reception from M. D'Espine, and they were soon established, wholly to their hearts' content and somewhat to their surprise, in an orderly Christian household, one which more than once Mr. Whittingham likened to that of "the rectory of Valehead." The family consisted of Monsieur and Madame, a grown daughter, a Swiss lady and gentleman who were visitors, a French countess and her niece, who, together with Rev. Mr. Keith, were boarders; Mr. Keith being, as an author, well known to the Americans from his interesting work on the "Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy."

And now began for the invalid a course of life calculated to restore health if anything could, such as he had never before had the prudence to follow. Regular meals, with regular exercise in the open air, to which a charming country invited him, with enough of sleep, he going to bed at a reasonable hour and rising when his frame was rested, without the self-accusation *miser* of past years if he had to chronicle that he had overslept his morning watch. The one duty before him was to get wholly well if possible. He would not even study. He had as much or as little as he desired of intellectual conversation, while a well-filled and well-selected library of books in various languages, chiefly religious, furnished occupation in his room and reading for his jaunts—for he could not give up the habit of reading while walking. Toulon was distant eight miles and Hyères three; to the one or the other he walked nearly every

day; while about two miles off were the interesting remains of a Roman city, Pomponiana, which, from the manner in which the ruins lay, he conjectured must have been destroyed by an earthquake. The ruins of a seignorial residence in the neighborhood were attractive, as were also many varied walks on the adjoining hills. Then there was the never-wearying sea-beach which lay before the chateau, where, in the course of his stay, after the manner of his boyhood, a great number of many varieties of small shells were collected for a cabinet and for shell-work by his sisters at home. The number of varieties is given; but is not copied lest the reader of undiscerning eyes should doubt the possibility of finding so many. Many hours were spent in shell-gathering, chiefly with the purpose of giving occupation to his companion.

There was scarcely an interruption to out-of-door exercise in a warm and balmy atmosphere which yet was not enervating. His regular "constitutionals" were from eight to twenty miles daily. In a letter which is intended to assert that nothing can compensate for absence from home and friends, he thus depicts, in part, his surroundings:

CARQUIERANNE, December 4, 1834.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER:

Behold us at last—oh, with what joy and thankfulness I write it! —released, for a time at least, from our vagabond course of life, and quietly and most comfortably settled in the bosom of a family—a family of tastes, habits, and manners like our own—a *Christian* family, in the most delicious of all the delicious spots we have yet visited. . . . The calm sea lies before my windows reflecting from its sapphire bosom a sun bright and warm as ours in June. The birds flit gaily from twig to twig in the maples and willows, still leafy and green, and the hedges of roses on either side of the avenue blush with thousands of flowers and tens of thousands of buds, and the orange trees bend under their loads of golden fruit. In my walks rosemary and lavender and thyme perfume the air as I crush them beneath my feet while I make my way among the lentisc and myrtle and juniper, which, with their evergreen foliage, form

the underwood of the equally evergreen pines and tamarisks that clothe the hills and skirt the sea. . . .

As has been said, the chateau was isolated. During the stay at Carquieranne of more than three months, with the single exception of a visit from a couple of American naval officers who had heard at Toulon that two of their fellow-countrymen were in the neighborhood, no mention is made of intercourse with any one. It seems to have been enough to associate with such a man as Mr. Keith,* and with M. D'Espine, who besides being, what was most grateful, an evangelical Christian, was also an enlightened and liberal man, who had much to tell of many countries in which he had lived. Sundays were spent at home, for, as may be readily conjectured, there was no place of public worship which Mr. Whittingham could, or rather would, attend. In Malta he gladly acknowledged that an Augustine canon, as shown by his sermon on grace, was "not far from us;" but the worship of that same canon, the worship of an acknowledged branch of the Church, is such as he could not have joined in. With evangelical Protestants he had such sympathy that he was thankful for the opportunity to share every morning, and especially on Sunday, in what he calls the patriarchal worship of the family he had been admitted to. The day began with family prayers, and on Sundays M. D'Espine read a longer service and a sermon in French. So hearty was Mr. Whittingham's concurrence that it was with utter surprise the Genevan learned that he could not go with him to Toulon—where there were about a hundred Protestants—to partake in the celebration of the Holy Commun-

* Unfortunately Mr. Whittingham's journal was only a reminder to himself. Of Mr. Keith's conversation can be gleaned only this story of the Rev. John Scott, the commentator. When he was in his last sickness some one spoke of the consolation it must be to him to think of the good he had done to others. "The good I have done!" said the dying man; "yes, I have done some good to the printers. For the rest I have amused the reading public." This was told on the authority of the attending physician.

ion. And were one to read the letters in which he speaks of his Presbyterian friends—their zeal, the beauty of their consistent, sober, religious life, knowing nothing more of his sentiments and tenets than these letters show, one would naturally conclude that there could have been no separation of importance. When Christians meet in a heathen land they put aside the thought of points of difference which separated them at home. Probably Mr. Whittingham was somewhat thus affected. He felt the need of religious sympathy. But this was not all. It was the habit of his mind to look intently in one direction. Not that his views were contracted. Far from it. He had sympathy with different men who had little with each other. Indulging fellow-feeling with one or the other, without reference to points of disagreement, both opponents would seem to have ground for claiming his full concurrence. The charge of inconsistency has sometimes been brought against him simply because of the fact that it was his tendency to speak or write earnestly, without protecting himself against misinterpretation by referring to other matters than those to which his attention was then directed.

One grievous drawback to enjoyment during the earlier half of the stay at Carquieranne was the want of intelligence from home. Through misunderstanding of or lack of definiteness in directions given, no letter had been sent directly to Marseilles. From the American newspapers he knew that his loved ones were in danger from cholera, and an additional danger threatened the one nearest to him. His complainings were piteous: before reading them and other like outpourings of his heart while abroad, I had not really known his tenderness. There must then be left something lacking in this portraiture of the man; for it is not always meet, as the reader will assent, that that which is spoken in the ear should be proclaimed on the housetops. Writing to his wife when he had no reasonable assurance that they were not separated by the gulf of death—in the

very multitude of blessings showered on him from his infancy, contrasted with the return made—he sees strongest ground for expectation that the "full cup" will now be dashed with trials, and, in pure mercy to an undisciplined heart, exchanged for a baptism of tears. But this despondency rested on a mere *perhaps*. The continuing to converse with one as if present brings an assurance that we may be heard; and so words of hopeful expectation follow. He knows the folly of forming wishes, and yet he does hope that a daughter may be given him. The wound inflicted just before he had been forced to leave home had been rather deepened than healed by time and absence. The sight of young children always revived grief.

"It may be," he writes, "that the possession of another darling with the same soft titles to affection would gradually diminish the bitterness of bereavement, and enable me to add cheerfulness to resignation."

He then tells of what had been to him a most trying scene. The Sunday after his arrival in Naples was All Souls' Day. After having attended the one English service, and in the afternoon been present at Vespers in a Roman Catholic church, he and friends walked through the length of the Marinello and the Corso, which were, as always on feast days, thronged with merrymakers. At the further end of the Corso a broad street turns up to the left with such a steep acclivity that it is ascended by steps. This street, which leads out of town through convents and gardens, was found to be even more thronged than the Corso. A stream was ascending and another descending the broad stairway. There was a difference in the appearance of this crowd from that of the one which had been met in the Corso; a difference also in the two ceaseless streams. Those going up had left their levity behind them, and those coming down were marked by a seriousness not before met with among the light-hearted Italians. This could not but

excite surprise, and they mingled in the ascending stream to discover what could charm Neapolitans into soberness. At the head of the street stood a large convent of the Carmelites, to and from which the streams went and came. The building was entered, through a wide receding portico, by three doors—one directly in front, a second at right angles to the left, and a third opposite on the right. There seemed to be no reason for choice, and they passed through the nearest door on the left and entered a chapel where a solemn service was going on. There was here nothing remarkable, and they returned to enter the centre door; this led also to a chapel much larger and more splendid than the first, where there was a responsive service, remarkable only for the fact that children composed one-third of the congregation. Mr. Whittingham stood a little way within the chapel, while before him knelt a young woman having with her two small children, a boy and a girl, the age of his own living Edward and lost Mary.

> The sight of this made my heart swell; but as if this were not enough, the little one turned to me, and running up with just that graceful, winning totter that our darling had, embraced my knees. I could not stand it, and I cannot now; then, as now, the tears flowed, and I was fain to leave the church alone to hide my weakness and to seek for strength behind a pillar of the portico.

There was little of curiosity left, but his companions were unsatisfied and they turned to the third door. It was low and narrow, without the heavy veil which closes Italian church doors, for there was no room for any such. Through this doorway two compact masses surged, entering and leaving, noiseless and patient, although making their way by main force. The foreigners entered with difficulty. At the end of a passage of twenty feet, which seemed almost stifling, they turned, through a door narrower and lower than the entrance, into a large vault more warm and stifling than the passage way. The vault was large, but imper-

vious to air excepting through the one door. It was dimly lighted by numerous tapers scarcely burning because of the impurity of the atmosphere.

But what was in the vault? and why these throngs to a place so insufferably incommodious? No longer did we wonder that those who had entered this place returned grave and thoughtful. It was full of graves and skeletons, and these, all, the graves and skeletons of children! The graves fresh opened, and the skeletons dressed out in cere-cloths and exposed with lighted tapers in their hands in wooden boxes, some with, some without glass lids or doors, but all with inscriptions purporting that —— had died, aged —— months and —— days. Oh, the ghastliness of that spectacle! of those little grinning skulls and tiny finger-bones peeping out of the pure white and sometimes gaudy silken trappings of death! And when I thought—how could I help but think?—that I too had such a deposit in the grave, that there were bones as small and as unsightly as those around me, once clothed with features as lovely and animated with manners as winning as those which had just lacerated my heart by the mere recollections they excited—oh! it almost maddened me! I felt for the moment a kind of ferocious pleasure in looking around on so many traces of the spoiler, so many proofs that I was not alone in my bereavement, and then, God be thanked for it, there came the recollection that the spoiler had been spoiled, and his victory annulled, and that these dry bones, and those dear relics that mouldered far away over the Atlantic, shall live and triumph in redeeming love, washed in the blood of the Lamb. I staid there half an hour, V., J., and M. having made their way out after a few minutes almost suffocated. The place was a *Campo Santo*, consecrated earth in which all who are buried have the benefit of continual prayer by the Capuchins above. The bodies, each with its proper mark by which it may be recognized, are laid as close as they can be, with quicklime above and below. On November 1st and 2d those which have lain here a twelvemonth are raised, exposed, as has been shown, with consecrated tapers in their bony hands, and then removed by relatives or taken by the monks to their charnel-house, or, an additional price being paid, they may be placed in a coffin on one of the shelves surrounding the vault. Was not this a time and a place to be remembered?

A month after this letter was written, and when the last from home was nearly six months old, came one from his

mother, saying that all were well and that a daughter was born to him, at the time of his receiving the intelligence two months old. He wrote to Mrs. Whittingham:

> The sudden revulsion from a state of dreadful anxiety to the full assurance of joy was a little too much for me, and on the next day I paid for my good news with a pretty severe fit of headache, nor have I been quite well since.

On the day of the birth of his daughter, being then in Sicily, from one of a wilderness of plants growing in the dry bed of a river he plucked a branch of oleander in flower, offered a prayer for his wife, and during the day wore the flower in his bosom as a memento. This branch he brought home with him.

Toward the close of January a tour on foot was made through a part of the Department of the Var, as far as Antibes, by the way of Frejus—built by the Romans on the sea but now a mile inland, yet showing, remarkably preserved, the proofs of its having been an important port—and by Cannes, the little town where Bonaparte landed when he escaped from Elba in 1815. This part of France is peculiarly the land of the orange and olive. The best of French olives are brought from this coast, and yet if the testimony of proprietors and others with whom conversations were held may be relied on, estates frequently yield no more than two or three per cent. The minute attention to cultivation all through France, so far as he saw the country, was to Mr. Whittingham a constant cause of surprise; and equally so the manner in which labor was applied—the lack of implements without which our people could do nothing. In a letter written while on this tramp and describing the charms of scenery and of climate in mid-winter, he says:

> It is the loveliest country I have seen. And yet the people seem so poor, and live so miserably, though I cannot say they seem to be uncomfortable according to their notions. What do you think

of seeing road-making—the carrying of earth and stones, which seems hard work when great strapping Irishmen push their wheelbarrows before them—done by girls, who carry the earth and stones in baskets on their heads, baskets so heavy that one alone cannot lift them. They have to associate by threes, filling their baskets at once, then two helping the first, she with one arm, and the third helping the second, and the first and second, each with one arm, their own baskets on their heads, helping the third to raise the ponderous load. And to see such girls working in the bed of a river shovelling the gravel against large sieves to sift out the pebbles, and carrying these up the banks to load carts! * And yet they seem as merry as crickets. We saw a couple, when for a moment something hindered them from working, throw down their baskets, clasp each other round the waist and waltz around the sand as lively and more gracefully than most of our belles would do in a ballroom. The quantity of labor bestowed on the soil in these countries is, to us transatlantics, marvellous. They spend more money, time, handiwork, and ingenuity on one field than one of our farmers does on an hundred acres.

The travellers went within five miles of the borders of Italy; from afar saw Nice, Villafranca, the coast of Genoa, and the mountains of Piedmont and the Alps, and then turning up from the sea-coast made their way back to Carquieranne along the foot of the Basses-Alpes and across the Monts des Maures. The hope had been entertained at one time of making a tour on foot through the north of Italy, but this was now impossible. Cholera, which they had found at Gibraltar, had followed them everywhere else. Scarcely had they gotten away from Malta when it made its appearance there. It was the same case as regards Sicily; had they remained a while longer in the beautiful island their position would have been exceedingly uncomfortable. A few days after they left Marseilles the presence

* Elsewhere, when speaking of the hard lives of the French peasant women, who on the farms do all manner of work, and on the roads, as all travellers in France have seen, do filthy work for the farm, Mr. Whittingham says: "If the women work hard, the men work harder, and do not, as in Sicily, degrade their women."

of the pest was acknowledged, and not only the city, but all adjacent parts were cut off from communication with Sardinia, and were so at this time. An Englishman who attempted to pass the frontier had been shot.

In an *auberge* in one of the small towns passed through in this present jaunt, our friends amused themselves with a proclamation from the French authorities warning citizens against an attempt to break the quarantine. The regulations were foolish, but they must be observed. "Instead of fretting at them, laugh at them!" But yet these same authorities, or others claiming the same powers, had a little before been guilty of what was supremely ridiculous. In front of the ruined Roman town near Hyères lies the Presque Isle de Giens, once an island, now, from the causes which have affected all the coast, joined to the mainland by two slips of land, each of which was guarded by health and customs officers, inasmuch as the peninsula has its inhabitants. A poor peasant among these found on the coast a hat, where it had been cast by the waves, and gladly appropriated it. This fact having reached the ears of the health officers, the wiseacres concluded that the hat might have fallen from some one on board a vessel which perhaps had sailed from a port where the cholera raged, and immediately they forbade all communication with the mainland, literally cutting off an hundred and fifty persons from their daily supplies of food. Before the quarantine orders could be countermanded by superior officers the poor wretches were nearly starved.

This excursion was one of fifteen days, including two Sundays, which were for the clergymen not days for the road. Weather and roads were all that could be desired, and much pleasure was received from varied scenery and little adventures. Two hundred and thirty miles were gone over; the last day's march, through a country most of which had been already seen, was one of thirty-six miles, for which extra exertion Mr. Whittingham paid with a severe head-

ache. The walk was undertaken partly with a view to see whether they could venture, some weeks later, to try the journey on foot to Havre, a distance of about six hundred miles. With the experiment they were fully satisfied, although afterward induced to abandon their project. On his way Mr. Whittingham wrote to his wife, explaining his motive, and said:

> Accordingly here we are, as the phrase goes, "in the full tide of successful experiment"—not altogether so successful either; for although our knapsacks, which at the first felt like five-and-twenty weight instead of the seventeen pounds to which they can lay just claim, on our shoulders now seem light as a feather, and although at the end of our fourth day's walk we are fresh and full of spirits, neither weary nor footsore, yet my left leg—you know that old left leg—has given way and I limped every step of to-day's ten miles, with a pang like that of a toothache to count by. However, to-morrow is Sunday, and that day's rest, with the half rest of to-day, will, I hope, put it again into good humor.

After the return to Carquieranne a month longer was spent in this pleasant abode. But where is the clime that always pleases? Toward the close of the month acquaintance was made with the mistral—*magistralis*—the all-mastering northwest wind, which reminded the health-seeker of still abiding troubles.

On March 11th the journey homeward was begun. The stay could not be prolonged, for M. D'Espine was about to return to Geneva to be with a son living there. With his effects the greater part of the baggage was forwarded to Geneva. Shouldering their knapsacks, Mr. Whittingham and his brother set out for Toulon. Leave-taking with the family, who had become warm friends, is briefly described:

> Parting painful enough. . . . Left at 8.10. Walking, read about a hundred lines "Paradise Lost," B. VII., and two long articles of the "Cab. de Lecture" (one in French, the other rendered into English) aloud to John. Arrived at Toulon at 10.20.

Here a day was spent in the examination of the arsenal, etc.

The dry dock was constructed, said our guide, by the English while they had the port. Thus have we found, wherever we have been, that people improving the possessions of their very enemies, more than once, as in this instance, leaving the improvements made during their temporary possession—the best of trophies of their conquest—trophies which it is the interest of those whose weakness they commemorate to maintain and perpetuate.

This reads like the self-complacency of an Englishman, therefore is it copied; for Mr. Whittingham was very much of a John Bull, at times seeming almost to think it a wrong done him that he had not been born an Englishman. Having said this, it must be shown that withal he was an American John Bull.

We went to the Montebello, a noble gun-ship just fitting for sea. Were shown all over her by an attendant seaman, and highly delighted with the opportunity of inspecting what is considered the finest ship in the French navy, and one of the finest in the world. Neither stores nor officers were aboard, so that we saw all, and were highly pleased with all. Yet the men (though only two hundred and fifty, but one-seventh of her whole complement, are now attached to her) did not please me, for it needed but half an eye to see that they were not in that state of perfect discipline which one looks for on board a man-of-war, and above all a first rate, at all times. I have no faith in these French sailors. I believe one of *our* largest ships, though inferior in number of guns, and more so in weight of metal, would soon make this noble vessel ours were they ever placed in hostile collision—which may God forbid, though men seem just now well enough disposed to bring it about. It seems altogether likely that this very vessel is now fitting out with reference to our squadron at Mahon.*

* Indignation had been roused by the peremptory demand of President Jackson that France should render long-deferred justice to American citizens, and it was still uncertain whether the peace policy of Louis Philippe might not yield to the resentment of the people. If American pride be gratified by the spirit shown by Jackson, it is humbled by a knowledge of the subsequent history of "French claims."

A fair specimen of spread-eagle! In a letter written a few days later from Marseilles to Mr. Holmes, he expresses his estimate of the French nation and his opinion of the result of the contest which was then threatened, and says: "The balance of the melancholy power of doing harm may be at first with them, but in the long run will go over to the other side." To think his country superior to self-admiring France is little in comparison with what follows.

Whereas I left America pretty much of a cosmopolitan in views, principles, and affections, I am changed, or changing very fast, into quite a bigoted patriot; and whereas I almost thought my own country one of the worst and worst managed in the world, I begin to believe it among the best, if not the best. This deterioration, or amelioration (to adopt Gibbon's balancing style), has been going on more or less ever since our arrival in Europe.

He then shows his opportunity of learning about England through intercourse with Englishmen, and continues:

My toryism has been lowering for years past; it's all gone now. I can yet say, "England, with all thy faults I love thee still," and I must love England were it only for the saints who have adorned the doctrine of our Saviour in her happy homes and her glorious Church. But I see much of her fancied superiority to be but fancied, and many, very many, derogatory miseries and crimes look large near at hand which had dwindled down in the long perspective of a third of the world's circuit. Still she is the pride of the old world—long may she continue so—and as much before all her neighbors in most respects as we *might* be before her in half another century if we were but wise.

A diligence took our travellers to Marseilles, where they arrived in time to witness the close of a grand religious function—a thanksgiving with a procession of great numbers in honor of the Blessed Virgin, through whose intercession the city had been delivered from cholera. The pest, however, still existed, and in the neighboring towns made all suspected who came from Marseilles, so that at their first stopping-place after leaving the infected city Mr.

Whittingham and his companion, at three different inns, were refused admission ; from one, although it was pouring rain at the time, were turned out with abuse when it was learned where they had come from ; and at last they were obliged to take possession of a cabaret without giving time for questions, and then to find a resting-place in a diligence going, as they were going, to Aix. The premature thanksgiving was beneficial, as a citizen said, at least by lessening fear, and so lessening danger. A common opinion among the people was that the disease was the work of *empoisonneurs*.

After a stay of a week in Marseilles, knapsacks were again taken up. During this journey heavier baggage was sent on in advance, at first by way of canal, and afterward by diligence from one main stopping-place to another. Through Aix and Salons Arles was reached, where the first Sunday and three following days were pleasantly spent. Here are interesting Roman remains, viz., a triumphal arch, the ruins of two temples, and a large oval amphitheatre begun by Julius Cæsar, but never finished, built of very large stones so far as it was built. The object of chief interest, however, was the Church of St. Trophimes, a defaced yet most pleasing Gothic building. The next town visited, Nismes, is also remarkable for its Roman remains, its carefully preserved amphitheatre, and its exquisitely beautiful Maison Carrée, a temple not at all a ruin, but occupied as a museum. A second Sunday was passed in an *auberge* on the banks of the Gard, opposite Remoulins and near the noble bridge Le Pont du Gard, a surprising work of engineering skill which during ages has been repaired and dilapidated. Remoulins, whose remarkable church with a receding portico was examined and admired, is but a half-day's walk from Avignon, the Babylon of the Papacy. Of this place Mr. Whittingham remarks: "Nothing can be more charming than the country around Avignon; nothing less so than Avignon itself."

In the journey thus far one day only had been wholly wearisome, and this one to be remembered with interest as being wholly unlike anything before experienced. A couple of miles after leaving Salons a dreary region was entered on called Le Cran, a dead level of rock just sheeted with earth, and that earth covered with pebble-stones from two to ten inches in diameter as thick as they could possibly lie, giving about the worst possible footing. Four or five hours were required to pass this waste, the while a strong *mistral* swept furiously across the plain, making a chance pile of stones to be at times a welcome shelter. The sky became perfectly overcast, and the atmosphere so damp that a house or a tuft of trees, of which three or four were passed in the day's journey, were at a few miles' distance raised entirely from the horizon and seemed to be suspended in the air, while all beneath them and around them bore so perfectly the appearance of water that it was supposed that the road was leading to one of the *étangs* formed by the sea in this neighborhood, until it was perceived that the objects which appeared to be on the opposite side were gradually settling down as they were approached, and not till then was the appearance recognized as being the effect of mirage.

Excepting this day the walk was a constant source of pleasurable excitement. Not only scenery, but orchards, hedges, flowers by the way, and everything around contributed. Especially the birds charmed. A letter to his mother says:

In one respect spring here certainly surpasses ours—its birds. The country is absolutely vocal with them. In the barrenest spots, at morning, noon, and sunset, thousands of larks are continually to be heard and seen as they rise gently upward, by a balancing motion of the wings, perpendicularly over their nests till the eye just loses them, pouring forth all the while an ever-varying song; and then, when just invisible, at once ceasing their song and dropping down as perpendicularly as they rose, but quick as a lightning flash on the dear spot over which they had been carolling. It is the male bird who thus soars and sings over the nest on which his mate is sitting.

Often and often have the little rogues filled my eyes with tears while they carolled so merrily! There is an expression of joy and feeling in the note which one who has not heard it cannot imagine. It is the very sentiment of the words "Home, Sweet Home!" in its fullest and richest expression. I remember old Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas's works, quaintly imitates the lark's note in a couplet, cacophonic enough to be sure, but conveying to my mind precisely the impression produced by the real songster's music—

> "While, with a cheer,
> Here peer I near my dear."

In other parts twenty other kinds, none perhaps possessing a note very beautiful taken by itself, make a melody beautiful for its very confusion, and all but incessant. A little brown woodpecker, with a voice shrill and clear as a tiny silver bell, makes a tinkling noise which the country people interpret into "Pluie! Pluie!" and will have it that he is a prophet of rain; though we can testify that he has been singing these ten days past, without a drop falling to verify his prognostication.

But his delight culminated at Vaucluse. In the letter just quoted he writes:

But Vaucluse! It is the wonder! Imagine a range of limestone hills, large as the Welsh Mountains,* with a crooked little valley half a quarter of a mile wide winding up a mile or more into their very heart, and at their very end where they are highest an immense hollow scooped out, and from its bottom beneath a perpendicular, or, rather, overhanging face of one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty feet a river large as the Passaic at Paterson, gushing out in some twenty different springs, boiling up with force enough to sustain stones of three or four pounds' weight (we tried it), and rushing, clear as the river with which I have compared it, and more rapid, down the little winding valley. It is the river Sorgue—a name derived, I suppose, from the Italian "Sorgente," a spring or fountain—and it bursts at once, in full riverhood, into the outer world at Vaucluse—Valclusa, "the closed valley," as it was originally. Had Petrarch never existed (as for my part I believe his Laura never did) the place would be one of the most worthy of a visit that I have ever seen. As it is, what

* A low range in New Jersey.

with the natural beauty of the place, its extraordinary character, and the interest of the associations connected with it, it is enough to turn one's head. It did turn mine, as the pieces on the next page bear witness. It was All Fools' Day, remember, so that I was excusable if I added myself to the goodly company.

The "pieces" copied into this letter were two sonnets, one on Petrarch, the other on the Church of our fathers—the Church of England, to which, perhaps, the thoughts of the writer were naturally turned from having dwelt, in his first poem, on one strong claim of Petrarch on his admiration, viz.:

> "—— that on the brink
> Of Rome's foul vortex thou stood'st free, no link
> Of hers thralling thy spirit."

After having left Vaucluse the next point of interest was Orange. From this place William III. of England, and others of the Nassau family, derived the title Prince of Orange. Among churchmen it is also of note for a council held here in 441. To the antiquarian it is of interest because of its Roman remains; among them a large theatre like to the amphitheatre at Arles, and like it, by the Government, freed from modern buildings and carefully restored and preserved. Mr. Whittingham notes:

We were gratified with a view of the process of *déblaiement* which the amphitheatre at Arles has undergone. Twenty or thirty houses yet standing, a small part of what once filled this huge structure. Several streets seem to have intersected the mass of buildings crowded within it, built out of its materials and in many cases scooped out of its very walls at the imminent risk of bringing them down to crush the insignificant parasites over which they towered. Corridors as yet very imperfectly cleared. Whole of the stage side exposed. Men at work executing repairs necessary to insure its solidity: these seemed to be planned with as much judgment as those at the Pont du Gard and elsewhere.

The following Sunday was spent at Valence. After having heard high mass at the cathedral by the bishop and

chapter, Mr. Whittingham went across the Rhone and over a plain to the foot of a steep hill crowned by a castle. Climbing its face he was, in some unexplained manner, exposed to great danger. He writes:

Mercifully delivered. Never looked death so close in the face before on land. Had the bitter feeling that the misery which my death here, and death in such a way, would cause at home would be the consequence of my own imprudence. Once more I have cause to be astounded at the long-suffering mercy and forbearance of my Father and Redeemer. Oh, let me not soon forget my feelings on this morning.

The remainder of the day he spent in the cathedral, where he saw with interest the preparation of a large body of children, boys and girls, for confirmation, and then the administration of the rite by the bishop. The candidates were under the care of two priests, whose instructions were in part explanatory of the ceremony and in part exhortations to a fit reception of the blessing. "Fear of hell was the only motive urged." The contrast between the appearance and indifference of the dignitaries and the loving zeal of their working inferiors was thought to be very great. One who, in his apparent interest in the duty before him, seemed to come half way between the curés and the higher class, preached a sermon; after which the bishop performed his office in what seemed a perfunctory manner. Late in the day, after dinner at 5.15—

Returned to the cathedral. Ceremony was finished and the dignitaries had departed with nine-tenths of the congregation, but the children were there yet, and their two pastors were conducting their devotions, consisting of alternate singing as before, pater nosters and aves said many times over, and the creed. A short address exhorting them to assiduity in prayer (but alas! by prayer he meant only these mumbled forms) was delivered by a third priest. They were to say so many paters and aves for themselves and so many for their families. The children were at last dismissed, but the good old man who had charge of the boys seemed unable to let them go,

Again and again he had more last charges to give them; and when he did dismiss them from their seats he got as many as he could in a group around him, and with them talked in the kindest and most familiar manner till one by one they all dropped off. Then he went to an altar to conclude his hard but pleasant day's work with private prayer (according to his notions of prayer) for blessing on it. My heart clave to the good old man. I love him, and left him hoping to meet again where we shall have left our ignorances, and prejudices, and superstitions, and retain only our love for Jesus and his little ones, which not even the dead forms of the Church of Rome could extinguish in this venerable brother's breast.

Doubtless those who, through the mercy of God, shall attain that blessed deliverance from all infirmities of the flesh, will have left behind them prejudices as well as superstitions.

The next day diligence was taken for Grenoble. By the same conveyance and in *voiture*, the journey was continued across Savoy to Geneva, which city was reached on April 10th. It was not then certain what step should be next taken. The French papers were still filled with warlike denunciations of the United States. It was not known how long the packet ships from Havre would continue to sail for New York. Letters had to be written and answers waited for. One discomfort—it had never amounted to a fear, for he had never believed in the probablity of a war—one discomfort was now wholly laid aside; there was no longer any danger of being made a *détenu*, as had been threatened.

Ten days were spent in Geneva: there is no record to tell us how, for home letters were no longer written and the irregularly kept diary had been wholly neglected. We know, however, that not a little of his time was passed in the company of the Rev. Cæsar Malan, then pastor of a congregation that met in a building in his own garden, just outside the city which had not been able to endure his denunciation of that which Calvinism had become. This most

excellent man and most logical of Supralapsarians was widely known and esteemed; his acquaintance was sought very generally by religious persons visiting Geneva, not a few of whom have had cause to testify to his zeal and fidelity to his calling. As an instance, the experience of a young American may not be unacceptable.

Soon after being ushered into a plainly furnished drawing-room, sounds from an adjoining room told him that he had called at an unfavorable moment; and on the entrance of Mr. Malan his first words were an expression of regret and a proposal to return at a later hour. His apologies were gravely put aside. Interruption of a meal was of no importance. Having glanced at the letters presented, with hardly a word of preface Mr. Malan said: "My young friend, you come from a country in which I am much interested, and about which I could wish to make many inquiries. You are going over ground with which I am perfectly familiar; I might tell you much to interest, perhaps aid you. But we may never again meet. For this interview, brought about by God's guidance, I must one day render an account: therefore, passing by all lesser matters, I ask you, are you a Christian?" The exceeding gravity of the dignified, stern servant of God startled, but the answer came, "I hope so." "You hope so! The salvation of your soul depends on your being a Christian, and you can only say you hope you are!" In his defence the youth ventured to say, "I think St. Paul speaks of the assurance of hope." "Stop, my young friend; let us see what St. Paul does say." Bringing forward a small table, Mr. Malan laid on it a quarto English Bible, and continuing to speak English without a perceived trace of foreign idiom, he alternately examined and lectured to the excited neophyte before him. The examination was to test the ground of the hope professed; the purport of lecture was to prove that salvation is God's free gift irrespective of all save his gracious will; that faith, which is from him, is proof that he has given

life eternal; that we know whether we believe; and that for the believer to hope that he is a Christian is to make God a liar. After a long interview, sternness gave place to gentleness as tender as that of a mother. But the result was that the enjoyment of not a few quiet hours amid the beauties of Swiss scenery was marred by going over the arguments in support of Solifidianism and dwelling upon the dogmas connected with it.

Mr. Whittingham was assailed, if not as abruptly yet with the same purpose, but not with a like result. He firmly refused to argue, saying: "I cannot hope to change your convictions, and I beg you to believe that I have honestly examined the basis of your conclusions. There is much on which we agree; let us rather speak of these things." In some way he managed to escape controversy, and in after-life often expressed admiration for the character of Mr. Malan and appreciation of the charm of his conversation.

Leaving Geneva, Havre was reached through Paris, where, it is safe to suppose, a few days were spent. Had letters from New York come in time London would also have been seen, for a commission had been sent to Mr. Whittingham to purchase books for the Seminary library.

About fifteen months after having left home in sorrow, seemingly utterly broken down in health and needing the support of the truths with which he comforted others, Mr. Whittingham landed in New York, glad to meet glad friends, anxious to resume work, hopeful, happy. So far as one could judge from outward appearance and strength of frame he was wholly recovered; but he was not in truth. Weakness of body was ready to show itself when strength should be again overtaxed.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

1836–1840.

Whatever may have been the wishes of his family, Mr. Whittingham's return was a matter of surprise and of regret to his friends, who wished that he should rest so long as there should be promise of benefit to health. There was no failure of means of support. The unexpended sum of $500 which was returned to the vestry of Trinity Church was but one installment of their purposed generosity that marked their estimate of the man—their sense of his value to the Church. One and another clerical friend expressly wrote to him: "Do not let the thought of personal obligation weigh with you. The interests of the Church are considered by us."

The following letter was not received until after the return to New York:

St. Mary's Parsonage,
Monday before Easter, 1835.

My Dearest Brother:

Your excellent letter of February 20th did not reach me till the 11th instant. I had heard in the meantime from Dr. McVickar and others of your premature purpose of returning home, and of the wise direction of your friends that you should not do so. Much as I long to see you it is not yet the time. Be patient, my dear brother. A return too soon will frustrate all the past. Dr. Whitehouse has found it so, having been again violently attacked. By all means stay away till autumn, if not till spring again. When you come to us you will need to be in good working order to make up lost time. Besides, I

am anxious that you should look our venerable mother, the Church of England, in the face. *Antiquam exquirite matrem.* Come home without a pilgrimage to Canterbury! Why, I should disown you without ceremony. On your brother's account, too, you ought to stay. As for the means, put away pride. The Church has a right to you. She has a right to lay out money for your cure. You have no right to refuse, nor to leave any effort unattempted to secure the end. Besides, you can serve the Church by laying out our money for her, in furnishing the library. I exhort you to be patient and faithful.

How kindly you speak of me and of my sickness! May I have grace to come much nearer than I do to the estimate of my too partial friends.

Most heartily do I thank God for his blessing upon you thus far. May it continue and increase, and while your body is renewed and invigorated may he give to your spirit wings as an eagle, to dwell continually in the light of his life-giving presence.

You are quite right in supposing we are prepared to advise you about Kentucky. [Bishop Smith had invited him to be professor in a theological school at Lexington.] You are not to think for a moment of going there. . . . But no, dear brother, your place is on the Atlantic coast among books, among settled institutions, among those who know you and who love you. Here you can turn your various gifts to good account. . . . You must not go. But what shall you do here? The intention is to give you a professorship in the General Theological Seminary, and that *me Judice* is your proper place, always provided that I cannot get you into New Jersey. Your present business is to get well. God and the Church will take care of you. . . . Believe me ever and devotedly your friend and brother in the Lord,

G. W. Doane.

Had this letter been duly received, Mr. Whittingham could not have "put away pride" at his friend's bidding. His spirit could not brook needless dependence, nor was his position pleasing to others whose judgment he could not offend. He felt that he was able to resume work, and so he came back to work, when in all probability great gain in the future would have resulted from a more thorough establishment of health, which a then prolonged rest might have secured. No sooner were glad welcomings exchanged with

kindred and friends than habits which had been interrupted for a year were resumed; and, although to a much diminished degree, the results of those habits were again felt. He soon found his place on committees to which he had before given time and thought, but some of these he was afterward obliged to abandon, because attendance on night meetings demanded an exposure which in his case was not proper. He had no parochial duties, but was therefore only the more free to apply himself to books. At a time when a mere enjoyment of home might seem almost a duty he was absorbed in a close study of the apostolic commission, and immediately after gave days to a careful revision, at the request of the author, of the works of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk on episcopacy, "examining fully each question as it occurred." Within a month after arrival he received two overtures from parishes, one an invitation from a vestry, the other an offer from a clerical friend to resign in his favor if he would accept the parish. But what from the time of his graduation, and even before, had been in many ways brought before him as his vocation, seemed now about to be realized. While yet abroad a friend—an efficient friend of the Seminary also—writing to him about a son looking forward to orders, expressed the confident hope that he would be under Mr. Whittingham's tutelage at the Seminary. Very soon after his return, one and another, including the bishop, gave assurance that a place at the Seminary would be found for him, although no one could definitely say how this could be brought about. On August 15th he writes:

> Letter from F. Smith [one of the trustees], informing me that the Seminary professorship is still *in suspense*, although my appointment to some situation is rendered less improbable by the endowment of a new professorship by P. G. Stuyvesant, Esq. Hawks will have that, no doubt; but then another may be established and I may be appointed. I am glad that I am enabled to feel so indifferent.

This supposed indifference was merely a prudent suppression of definite hopes through fear of the pain of disappointment. There was nothing Mr. Whittingham had longer desired, or then more truly wished for, than the chair of a professor.

Early in August the Rev. Dr. Taylor, rector of Grace Church, the second parish in the city, being obliged to resign his duties for a season and about to go to Europe, proposed to Mr. Whittingham to supply his pulpit during at least six months, without other parochial charge. Save the rectorship itself, nothing at this time could have been more desirable. But the flattering offer was accepted with hesitation, and only after full persausion that the claims of Grace Church would in no way interefere with possible duties at the Seminary. On October 1st he became preacher at Grace Church. Before the end of the year the standing committee of the trustees of the Seminary, having been empowered to do so, appointed * him to the temporary charge of the two vacant professorships—that of Ecclesiastical History and of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence. He accepted the appointment, entered at once on his double duties, and rented a house in the immediate neighborhood of the Seminary. He must have felt assured that the temporary appointment would be followed by a permanent one.

The friends of the Seminary had been confident that besides the endowment which had been offered by Mr. Stuyvesant, that of a second chair would be secured. An unexpected crisis in the mercantile world made all such hopes vain. Some months later Bishop Onderdonk suggested that if two fellowships could be founded by the joint efforts of all others, the vestry of Trinity would endow a professorship; but the offer was not acted on. From that time more than thirty years passed before anything was

* In the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees no record of this fact is found; probably because of the permanent appointment made so soon after.

done to increase the efficiency of the school of the American Church, and what has as yet been done is inadequate to its needs.

Mr. Stuyvesant having secured the right to nominate subject to the approval of the trustees, gave to the Seminary $25,000, the interest of which should be for the support of the St.-Mark's-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History. As Mr. Whittingham had conjectured when he first heard of this intended foundation, Mr. Stuyvesant nominated the Rev. Dr. Hawks, then a very popular clergyman of New York City, a while before chosen by the House of Bishops to be Missionary Bishop to the Southwest, and later by the Diocese of Mississippi as their bishop —the author of several literary works but more justly esteemed for extraordinary pulpit eloquence than for learning. After his confirmation by the trustees, Dr. Hawks declined the professorship. The name of Mr. Whittingham was then submitted, and, so soon as necessary formalities permitted, this nomination was unanimously approved. On January 14, 1836, Mr. Whittingham was informed of his appointment. The next day he sent his letter of acceptance. At this time he was personally unknown to the gentleman to whom he was indebted for the honor bestowed on him. Six months later, one Sunday afternoon, after having read service and preached at Grace Church, he was walking homeward in company with Professor McVickar, when "Mr. Stuyvesant joins us and requests an introduction." An invitation to tea followed, which was accepted. And thus began a friendship which, on the part of the benefactor, as his letters show, was strengthened by reverent esteem and full confidence.

There seems to have been at first a doubt as to what chair should receive the endowment. On December 14th, the Rev. Mr. Haight, then in Cincinnati, wrote:

> With two strings to your bow I suppose you are now, humanly speaking, sure of a professorship. . . . I think you took the

right course as to Mr. Stuyvesant's proposition to you. It is much better that the whole responsibility should be borne by the trustees. As to your choice, do you know that I am in ignorance? From your studies in ecclesiastical history, and from your collection of books in that department, I have always supposed that you were very partial to it, and that the professorship of it would be very acceptable to you. And yet, on the other hand, I know you feel a deep interest in all things connected with the active duties of the pastoral office, and have made them your study and the theme of your frequent conversation. From the tenor of your account, however, I infer that this latter is your choice. Am I right?

He was right. In the diary for January 13th there is entered:

At 10.30 P.M. Mr. F. Smith called to let me know the doings of the trustees of the Seminary, which decide my lot, God willing, for life. They have, contrary to my expectation, given me the Ecclesiastical History professorship. It is the least important and the least influential, but easiest in point of duty, and a line of study of all others most congenial to my inclination. Do thou, O Lord, of thy great goodness enable me to discharge its duties to the advancement of thy glory by the good of thy Church.

One cannot tell what he looked forward to, when hoping for the chair of Pastoral Theology, but certainly he was wrong in his estimate of his future position. Mr. Van Ingen judged rightly when, in answer to some expression of disappointment, he wrote:

As to intercourse with the students and influence on them, I have no fears. You will find opportunities enough constantly occurring, or, if you do not, you will make them.

What is there, in fact, in the whole circle of theological training, out of the reach of the teacher of Church history who is prepared to take advantage of the openings that present themselves? From the very first the influence of Mr. Whittingham was not that of a lecturer on a course of study, nor was it by any means confined to the class-room. In a sermon preached immediately after the death of the

bishop, a presbyter of Maryland, who was a student in the Seminary in 1835, said of his former professor:

> He was much younger than the other teachers, and his enthusiastic nature brought him into nearer sympathy with the students. It was soon felt that a new power was developed among us.

He took care to manifest an interest in all that concerned the students as a body, and was chosen by them as president of their voluntary societies. To very many of the individual students he became a close personal friend. He found out their troubles and relieved them, at least by sympathy. Often distresses in the Seminary are due to scanty pecuniary means; he lessened such by giving of his own, and by obtaining relief from others; there were certain laymen to whom he could always apply in confidence, for they habitually put aside money to be used by the professors for indigent students. These acts were not known save to the receivers of the bounty and those to whom they chose to speak of the kindness received. He watched over them in their sickness: one sick student removed to his house for better nursing died there. Often he was the religious counsellor of men who would have hidden their doubts and their temptations from the mere professor. Letters from those who had been his pupil friends show this—letters preserved simply because he kept everything that had ever been written to him. One writes:

> I am so accustomed to go to you for favors, and have received so many from you, that I seem to have a kind of prescriptive right still to do so. Though I never expect to make any adequate return, still I am not discouraged. The fault, I conceive, is not mine, but in the uniform kindness with which they have always been conferred. Should I say that I consider myself more indebted to you than to any other individual for all that I am as an attached and devoted though unworthy member of the Holy Catholic Church, I should but speak the truth.

Another graduate writes:

To God I give praise that he has given me so kind and judicious a friend, and to you my warmest thanks. . . . Your approbation and counsel has for a long time been an incitive and consolation to my desponding spirit. Next my conscience I value its blessing.

Another, whose course was for a while interrupted by sickness, says:

I have during my life had one or two instructors who have done much to quicken my love of what is true and good; and I bless God for them, and honor and love themselves. Such kind of feelings, my dear Professor, has all my intercourse with you been exciting and strengthening. Only I have looked to you for guidance in matters that more nearly concern my spirit and life. From your instructions and constant influence I have profited somewhat in the work of training myself to engage with a heart full of simplicity and love in the ministry to which I am looking forward.

It is not for one who has a grateful sense of Dr. Turner's fatherly interest to undervalue the kindness of other members of the faculty, but my own personal experience during the one year it was my happiness to be under his tuition confirms the testimony of others, that Professor Whittingham was nearer to the great body of the students than was any other man connected with the institution, and that his influence was his own, something that had not been known before.* This influence may be judged of from the

* The familiar letter from which the following extract is taken was written without a thought of the use now made of it. Perhaps it the better answers the desired end: "I was a member of the first class that went through the whole course at the General Theological Seminary under the bishop. And oh! what a scene we had in taking leave of him. He had the class to meet him in his study. Began to talk to us. Soon broke down—could not give utterance to his words of affection—tried it several times, then commenced handing to each student a small memento, and getting through *rushed* to a corner of the room and cried out aloud as if his heart would break. Of course the students all got away as best we could, some through his front door and some through the Seminary library, which communicated with his study. Nearly all went out with a regular boo-hoo. I held on, determined not to let my feelings get away with me; but when I got to my room it was no use to struggle any longer —I boo-hooed too, as thoroughly as any of the rest had to do, or, as it seemed to me, I must die outright. Oh! how we loved him. J. A."

strong words of a Seminary friend: "There is hardly a positive conviction or idea in my mind that I did not receive from him, in the germ or full-grown." He who thus acknowledges his debt was distinguished among his fellow-students for his ability and acquirements; and nearly all his ministerial life, happily to the present day, he has been engaged as professor in transmitting the "convictions and ideas he received:" his teacher's influence has thus not ceased.

The sense of loss to the Seminary expressed when he was called from it, both by those deprived of his guidance and by others who had at heart the due training of the clergy, and also the tradition which lingers in the Church, show the faithfulness and ability of Dr. Whittingham as a professor; but the daily routine of a student's and teacher's life offers little to be recorded.

So soon as made Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Mr. Whittingham resigned the chair of Pastoral Theology. At a later date he yielded to the earnest request of the senior class and gave them needed instruction, for which no provision was made by the trustees of the Seminary.

In April, 1836, the librarian having resigned, Professor Whittingham was appointed to his old charge, and retained it so long as he remained in the Seminary.

During the following vacation Dr. Turner moved into the new residence in the western building, which was then nearly completed. To the younger professor was given the vacated dwelling, which had at least the convenience of communicating with the library, which was his peculiar province. If he had no other claim the Seminary would owe him a debt of gratitude for his many hours of unpaid labor bestowed on the library, for his care of it and zeal for it which nothing but love could beget. Every volume was as a personal acquaintance, and he was always on the watch to increase their number. Being on the book committee he was practically the committee. The fund for the increase of the library is small; he was therefore con-

tinually driven to shifts to improve chance opportunities to secure rare or valuable books. By letter and by personal application he was a constant beggar. So many were the old books found by catalogue-hunting and bought as he could, that he came under suspicion of violating the revenue laws, which permitted the entry, free of duty, of books printed prior to a certain date. Some zealous custom-house officer, having noticed the frequent entry of books thus exempt, became convinced that the title-pages were fraudulent and seized an importation.* It required application to the department to obtain possession of the precious packages, and the department itself was not readily persuaded.

In the library Professor Whittingham reigned. Here day by day he was surrounded by students listening to his discourses on every theme. Sometimes in private he here met the spiritual wants or theological difficulties of individuals, but more generally he was found turning from one to another of a group, and from one to another subject with the promptness which always marked him, and with that impatient readiness which was also characteristic of him. On one of these occasions a pupil, who since for many years has been a Doctor in Theology, and of exceptional right bears the title—who, when he applied for admission to the Seminary, was asked by Dr. Whittingham, "Did you come here to be a teacher?"—this future professor sought information on some point, and attempted to propound his query. Perhaps he was not clear; perhaps his question

* This seems so improbable that a copy of the importer's letter is here given:

"To the Rev. Mr. Whittingham.

"*Dear Sir:* I made application to Washington to get the exorbitant duty returned on the books per the Nancy. The answer I have from thence insinuates —1st. Where could so many old books come from? 2d. Was not some fraud committed so as to make them appear books which had been really printed and bound since 1775?—by inserting other front pages are they not made to appear to have been printed previous to that time? . . . I much wish a certificate from you . . ."

was suggestive of different themes. Again and again the professor poured out a stream of knowledge, when at last the student found opportunity to say, "Doctor, I have to thank you for lucid answers to three different questions; but yet you have not touched the matter that now especially interests me. Permit me to state what it is I have to ask."

This undue promptness to receive an impression, and haste to speak or act under it which sometimes led to more than unneeded answers, is thus kindly spoken of by an intimate friend.

Supposing that he would yield to the persistence of Bishop Doane and consent to edit the periodical that was afterward under the care of the secretaries of the two missionary boards, the Rev. Mr. Haight wrote to him in November, 1835:

> Let nothing move you to write in a heat, much less to send what you may have written on nice points which may arise to the printer before you have slept on it. I know not that I, or any of those to whom you are dear, ever regretted anything in your whole *edita* of *The Churchman* except an occasional failure here.

It would have been a cause for thankfulness had this advice been always followed. But the bias of strong natures is not easily swerved by words of counsel, nor even by the experience of the result of a tendency; if it were, every honest man would become a perfect man. However, that which sometimes brought about results to be regretted constituted, when not overpowering, one of the chief charms of the man.

The personal influence which they who were brought into contact with him acknowledged, even when differing from him in judgment, was in part due to his quick and warm sympathy; and that which filled churches to overflowing when it was known that he would preach—the something which is missed from his printed discourses—was the outcome of his quickly kindled zeal, his impetuosity, and his

power to impart his own irresistible earnestness to others. His ability in the pulpit was early recognized, and during his entire residence in and near New York he was often requested to preach on special occasions. While yet a young priest, Bishop Croes, of New Jersey, whose letters are a very model of brevity and soberness, wrote to him, asking his attendance at the annual meeting of a society:

> Although you have left the diocese, I hope you will not fail to give us one of your excellent sermons on the occasion. It would be a great gratification to us all to have you with us, and especially to hear you preach.

Only an orator can convey the impression produced by eloquence, but the relation of a fact will show how the heart has been melted by our orator's burning words and manner. On the night of December 16, 1835, there was a fire in New York, remarkable in the history of the city, still spoken of as "the great fire," and, in our country, never equalled except by the burning of Chicago. It swept off a large portion of the richest part of the business section of the city; many failures followed, and it greatly increased, if it did not cause, the monetary crisis which disappointed the hopes of the Seminary, as has been said. This conflagration Mr. Whittingham witnessed from Orange, which was far enough distant to give a full view of the grandeur of the scene, and yet not so far as to take away the terrible effect of the picture. There was no personal danger, but there was not the relief of exertion; he knew that friends were suffering and he could not tell who. Impressed by what he had seen, and by reflections on man's uncertain hold on earthly possessions, he wrote a sermon which, on the Sunday following, or soon after, he preached in Grace Church to a congregation of wealthy men, or men who had been so but a few days before. What was the precise theme of the discourse is not known, nor is there anything known concerning it beyond this fact. Immedi-

ately after the service a gentleman entered the vestry-room and asked of the preacher, "Will you kindly lend me the sermon I have just heard?" The request was politely declined. When it was more urgently pressed, Mr. Whittingham said, "My dear sir, I cannot lend this or any sermon, and for reasons that you as a merchant can readily understand; they are my stock." "But, Mr. Whittingham, you must now break your rule; I must have that sermon." The tone and manner with which this was said were so impassioned that they forced the answer, "I have told you that I never lend my sermons, and I will not; but this one I give you—here it is." The gentleman clutched the manuscript and said, "For this I shall give you $20,000, to be expended by you on such charities as you may choose." The next day his cheque was received. A recent examination has shown that soon after there appeared in *The Churchman* numerous acknowledgments of anonymous gifts to charities in which Mr. Whittingham was interested, the amount of which as traced nearly equals the sum promised. No reference to this fact is found in the bishop's papers. Mrs. Whittingham was not aware of it, nor is it known that any one had ever heard of it until the last year of the bishop's life, when his youngest son was teazing him with questions about his life, about his sermons, and especially asking what was the largest amount of money he had ever received as a consequence of his preaching. "Did you ever," said he, "gain by a sermon anywhere as much as was given in St. Paul's?"—[when the debt of the church was at once paid in response to the bishop's plea]. And then to this child, who took greater liberties than any one else ventured on, the father unwillingly confessed that he had been paid $20,000 for one manuscript.

Mr. Whittingham retained the pulpit at Grace Church till near the close of his first session at the Seminary. That he was not estimated by the congregation simply as a preacher may be seen by the following letter:

COLLEGE, March 10, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR:

I do assure you you wholly mistake the matter between us. The money was not from me, but a friend, and, except as repaid by your own Christian sympathy, is only burdening you with the task of distribution. It is not in such way, I trust, that myself and children will seek to repay to you the debt we truly owe to you for spiritual instruction, but by becoming what you teach us to be, and—may I add without offence—show us. But there is a matter in which I have sought to please you and Mrs. W. You may thank me. . . . We know each other well enough, I trust, not to quarrel about trifles—for quarrel we must if you talk any more of obligation.

Respectfully and truly yours,

JOHN MCVICKAR.

To have been highly appreciated as a pastor by such a man is no slight proof of excellence.

During the year 1837 the professor was chaplain to the New York Protestant Episcopal Public School, his old Charity School with a new name. There was given to him as such a salary of $300 per annum, the sum which he had fixed upon when a deacon and first appointed to the charge as sufficient to supply all his wants. This was his last fixed clerical duty until he became bishop. Thus he began and ended his parochial life as preacher to children and pastor to their poor parents.

Dr. Whittingham's activity could not expend itself in Seminary duties and pulpit services. He continued his early formed habit of writing for the periodical press on all themes. If it were desirable it would not now be possible to designate these papers, for he wrote over any signature suggested at the moment. He took part in the discussion of all important church matters, and sometimes thus brought upon himself what was keenly felt by his too sensitive nature.

In August, 1837, Joseph Wolff, the missionary, arrived in New York. He had expressed to Mr. Whittingham, when in Malta, his desire to lecture in this country, but he

had then little thought of the manner in which he should carry out his wish.

In January, 1836, he left wife and child in Malta, and, intending to penetrate the interior of Africa, began what proved to be his last missionary tour. Going by the way of the Red Sea he entered Abyssinia, and proceeded as far as Adwah, the capital of Tigré. In this land he met with a singular adventure. He was taken by the good Christians to be their *aboona* in disguise, and he had some difficulty in persuading them that he was not their desired bishop. Assertions to the contrary failing, he had recourse to his tobacco-pipe and smoked vigorously, which act, among these simple ones, is in a bishop an abomination. The Abyssinians are dependent for consecration on the Coptic patriarch. Six years before they had sent a messenger to Egypt to procure a bishop to fill the place of their lamented Kyrillos, but they had not sent the necessary fee, $6,000. At last, wearied out with waiting, this man had returned to his country in the service of Mr. Wolff, and his attendance made his master everywhere to be taken for the longed-for bishop. All marks of Eastern reverence were heaped on the missionary, and on his declining them, the cry was raised: "Bless us, bless us, whoever you be!" Which he did. At Adwah he found Mr. Gobat—then in the employ of the Church Missionary Society—who had been ill in bed many months. The kind-hearted man at once turned back in his journey to Gondar and the interior, and engaged to accompany his sick brother as far as Jiddah, in Arabia, and should he die on the way, then to take his wife and child to their friends in Switzerland. Mr. Gobat lived to be a bishop of a doubted see. Having fulfilled his kind office to his Christian friend, Mr. Wolff, to whom time always seemed a small matter, instead of going back to the work he had undertaken, followed an inclination to visit the Rechabites, spent some months in Arabia, and then, after a serious attack of typhus fever, sailed from Jiddah to

Bombay, and thence to New York. His own statement is:

> On my arrival I was most cordially received into the house of the Rev. A. Dickinson, a Presbyterian minister, and in a very few days I saw myself surrounded by members of the Episcopal Church, Drs. Whittingham, Bayard, Vickars, and others of the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist denominations, and the members of the Jewish synagogue.

He at once began to lecture wherever the opportunity was offered him, and in less than five weeks after landing in America was ordained deacon by the Bishop of New Jersey, being presented, on the special request of Bishop Doane, by Dr. Whittingham. As reported by the bishop to his Convention, this ordination was under the then XXII. canon—"Of clergymen ordained for foreign parts"—Mr. Wolff's avowed intention being to embark for Africa and fulfil his interrupted self-imposed mission of exploration. The canon has reference to the ordaining "any person to officiate in any congregation or church destitute of a bishop, situated without the jurisdiction of these United States" How it warrants the ordering of such a rover as Wolff, going to officiate to no congregation or church, is not clear. During eighteen or nineteen years he had been preaching Christ chiefly to his brethren according to the flesh—the Jews—a self-sent missionary to many lands, professing an attachment to the Church of England, using her service in public worship, baptising, claiming the title Reverend, yet not pretending to be an ordained clergyman. According to a statement made by him when lecturing in this country, he was forced to seek ordination by the fact that wherever he went in the East, claiming the character of Christian missionary, he was met by the query, "By whom were you sent? What bishop ordained you?" And to his answer, "I come in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, with the anointing of his Spirit," the invariable reply was made, "We admit

that the Lord may send his ministers directly, but in such case he gives evidence of his commission. What sign do you show from him?" The constant repetition of this questioning and reply at last produced its effect. He could only seek episcopal ordination, he said, because outside of the Protestant bodies in Europe and America, the origin of all of which he knew, he had never seen a Presbyterian. His prompt ordination in New Jersey was not without opposition. He speaks of it in his letters as openly shown in Philadelphia, where he was lecturing, by several of the most prominent churchmen; and in *The Churchman* explicit charges were brought against him which, it was insisted, ought to be investigated, and ought at least to prevent hasty ordination. One of these was that Mr. Wolff had been an Irvingite, a believer in the gift of tongues claimed by Irving. Before this charge had been put in print Dr. Whittingham had given to the editor assurance of the contrary founded on his own personal knowledge. The publication of it was met by resentment, expressed in such terms as endangered long friendship; for the doctor felt aggrieved, not only by the assault on one who had laid special obligations on him, but by the disregard of his positive testimony. The prompt ordination, which was not deferred a day, gave brief opportunity for sharp controversy. The deacon, with a roving commission, went soon from America, not to destitute Africa, but to a land of bishops. In July of the following year he was ordained priest by the Lord Bishop of Dromore; was made Doctor of Laws by the University of Dublin; had conferrred on him by an American college the degree of Doctor in Divinity, which he asked for, and had given him a parish in Norfolk, England. In a notice of his next published journal, the imperturbable editor of *The Churchman* wrote in 1840:

> There are anomalies in nature which baffle all attempt at classification, and it is therefore no wonder that men should form different opinions of that odd mixture of wit and madness, of piety and

vanity, of folly and genius, of good-natured credulity and wrong-headed energy, of caustic cunning and eccentric learning, of migratory wildness and catholic sobriety, which has perambulated the earth under the name of Joseph Wolff.

From the time of the separate organization of the American Church, a diocese had been coterminous with the State which gave it name, with the exception of the Eastern Diocese, formed in 1810, which included several New England States. In 1838, at the Convention held in Utica in August, by a vote of more than two-thirds of each order, New York was divided into the Dioceses New York and Western New York. This was the first instance of a division of a diocese. To this end Dr. Whittingham contributed both by his efforts in his place in Convention and by his pen. When in France, in March, 1835, he had written a letter to Mr. Holmes that is to be noted as containing the first suggestions to his mind touching questions some of which have yet to be settled.

Of all your items of news the newest—I might almost say astounding—to me was that Bishop Onderdonk, of New York, had brought before the last Convention an intimation that the "unshared responsibilities of the diocese are too great for him." I may have misjudged—nay, I must—but Bishop Onderdonk is almost the last man from whom I should have looked for such an intimation. Not that I think it improper, injudicious, or unreasonable. Far otherwise. I am fully convinced that such is the state of the case, and am most heartily rejoiced that Bishop Onderdonk has felt and avowed it. It is another proof of his manly, Christian, straightforward openness and honesty. He is a pillar of adamant, not to be moved from the truth and right as he sees and feels it. Yet I have fears for the consequences of moving this matter. What it may grow into ultimately I hardly see. But I do not think it will result only in the appointment of an assistant; and if the State of New York should be divided (as really I do not now see why it should not), one can hardly foresee to what results the precedent may or may not lead. Many of our States must become too large for dioceses. The House of Bishops must thus be increased. Its powers as a part of our General Convention will be more and more felt. The representative

character of that body will be diminished. The Constitution of the American Protestant Episcopal Church as a federate body will become oligarchical instead of democratical. There will be an approximation to the old character of the Church in the third or fourth century. There will be either a degeneration into a hierarchy like that of the fourth and fifth centuries, or a still greater simplification and, I think, improvement of our institutions by a return to the model of the Church at a still earlier period, when every diocese was an independent sovereign, connected only with Christ as the supreme head, and its neighboring and all other dioceses as brethren dependent on the same Lord and Master. One preventive for this course is not likely to be used—the alteration of the system of representation in the lower house, apportioning it to the number of clergy and churches, or by some other ratio. Another would be the introduction of an intermediate, or a lower, at any rate a third body, in which the ratio of representation should be observed, and which should be co-ordinate with the present lower house, while powers of origination other than by message should be taken from the upper house. But I doubt whether this would be Episcopalian. But enough of this for the present. We'll talk it over, if it please God to prosper my present plans, in June next.

On his return home Mr. Whittingham at once began to use his influence to bring about a result which he more and more clearly conceived to be inseparable from the prosperity of the Church. The views he advocated are now received by the great majority of churchmen—success being a strong argument—but when first set forth by him they were opposed by learned and sober-minded men, among whom notably was Dr. Seabury. Mr. DePeyster, a clergyman of Western New York, having been much impressed by the remarks of Dr. Whittingham made in Convention in October, 1837, in relation to a division of the diocese, requested that the doctor would give him in writing the substance of them.

Beyond the fact that he had urged deliberation and action on principles, not expediency, he had no distinct recollection of what he had said; but in answer to the request made he wrote a letter, the facts and reasoning of

which appeared to Mr. DePeyster, and friends whom he consulted, to be so valuable that it was published in a permanent form for distribution and future reference. Twenty years later, when the division of Maryland was contemplated, this letter was republished by a number of the clergy of the diocese.

The question of whether the Church in New York is to be under the care of one bishop or of more (Dr. Whittingham said *) is to be answered by a consideration of fundamental principles.

If our position as a distinct communion be justifiable it must be because episcopacy is a fundamental—is found in Scripture and is derived from the apostles.

It is one thing to possess a valid ministry, and another to have that ministry as instituted by the apostles in the name of their Master.

Assuming that orders are derived through bishops we might, without affecting the validity of our commission, decide that for the time to come our ministers should be all bishops. So doing we should break down what separates us from many who bear the Christian name. Why not do it then? Because our episcopacy would no longer be the episcopacy of Scripture and the apostolic churches. We should have the ministry, but with an altered character. We should have an invention of our own substituted for the system appointed under the guidance of the Spirit. On this ground we make the three orders of the ministry a fundamental of our polity. We adhere to the plan as left by the apostles because they left it.

Rome has elevated cardinals, priests, and deacons to a position higher than that of any primitive bishop, and has placed at their head a bishop claiming to be the sole vicar of Christ. Here are three orders with an apostolic succession. Is this apostolic episcopacy?

The same principle on which we are Episcopalians requires us to be apostolic Episcopalians.

Now the question comes up: May not episcopacy be materially, if not essentially, affected by the limits assigned to each bishop for the discharge of his peculiar function? The answer depends on what are his functions. Were he merely an officer to do certain acts, the limits to be assigned to a bishop might be determined by his physical

* It need hardly be said that only an abstract of the letter is here given.

ability to go through the routine. But the duties of a bishop, as our ordinal exhibits them, are not merely functional; they are literally the "care of the churches," under which the greatest of the apostles groaned. The ordinal has established the spiritual character of the episcopal office, rather than the ecclesiastical. Whatever anomalies may tend to reduce a bishop in our Church to a mere official, the voice of the Church herself condemns them. She teaches that his charge as a bishop is eminently a cure of souls; that as a bishop he is set over the whole flock, to watch over their souls as one who must give account; that as a bishop he is not merely to furnish pastors and see that the flock is fed, but himself to feed them, giving each his portion in due season.

Yet this character may be destroyed by the enlargement of his diocese. It is the tendency of such enlargement to destroy it. This lesson is taught by the whole history of the Church. In proportion as dioceses were enlarged the discipline of the Church grew lax.

The fact will not be questioned that the boundaries have been enlarged. There are few now corresponding in extent or number of souls with those of the first ages of the Church. Here and there one, like the bishopric of Sodor and Man, to prove the excellence of the system of apostolical episcopacy.

In England the reformers were anxious to reduce the size of bishoprics; and yet, in extent of surface, these were about one twenty-fifth of the size of the Diocese of New York. We do not know much of the British Church, yet enough to assure us that its bishoprics were very much smaller than their Saxon substitutes. In Wales, never capable of sustaining a large population, there were seven.

The ecclesiastical map of France curiously illustrates the gradual change of diocesan episcopacy. The 110 dioceses of France proper are of exceedingly unequal extent, comprising from 16 to 1,388 parishes, and covering from 8 square miles to 2,500. There are three clusters of small dioceses, almost uniform in size, from which, as the rest recede in distance, they increase in size. These three spots were first Christianized in France, and the lapse of ages intervened before their influence had communicated itself to the remote bishoprics. Taking the provinces of Aix and Arles as a standard, New York would, by superficial measurement, divide into 119 bishoprics; by number of parishes, rather more than 8.

The earliest Gallic dioceses can be traced up only to the end of the second century. Let us go where apostles planted the Church and fixed the bounds of its episcopacy. The kingdom of Naples

has 154 bishoprics with an area of about 30,000 square miles, while the area of New York is about 45,800. This fact cannot be attributed to popery, for the policy of Rome is to consolidate bishoprics. In the sixth century it is known that in the province of Umbria its 18 dioceses averaged 100 square miles. All these have been consolidated by the Pope, by threes and fours. Here, then, we have a standard by which the State of New York is divisible into from 370 to 450 dioceses. No doubt this district was then one of the most populous in the world; but no disproportion in population would account for such a difference in superficial extent.

Turn where we will, as soon as we come on the footsteps of an apostle we discover the same state of things.*

Untoward influences from without and faults within have set up in the Western Church a pattern of episcopacy different from that of the Apostles.

I am far from affirming that there was any precise measure either of parishes or of surface. On the contrary, we have proof that even at the first the dioceses differed in size and in importance. Rome differed from Eugubium; Antioch or Jerusalem from a neighboring episcopal town. And I see no reason to doubt that it was the design of the inspired founders of the churches in these cities that they should remain intrusted each to a single bishop, whatever the growth of the city.

Increased facilities of travel and intercourse may warrant a departure from the precise pattern of a primitive diocese, yet not to such an extent as to destroy the proper spiritual oversight of a bishop. Men have not changed if roads have. Their spiritual wants are the same now as in the days of the apostles. Episcopacy is a different thing in a diocese of three hundred parishes and in one of thirty. In the former the bishop is the overseer of the clergy, not of the church.† His intercourse with his flock is indirect; he cannot be their pastor.

The crisis has arrived when we must decide between the primitive simplicity of the Church in the first ages and the hierarchical character which her ministry assumed after its alliance with the civil government.

I have heard with sorrow of making bishops too cheap—destroy-

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* This assertion was sustained by an examination of the condition of Proconsular Asia.

† The Bishop of Rome, in standard days, must then have held a different relation to his people from that borne by the Bishop of Eugubium.

ing the respectability and dignity of the episcopal office. What is the respectability and dignity of the office if not its divine origin and end? It is unfaithfulness to God to put worldly estimation in counterpoise to a clear knowledge, or even a strong presumption of his will.

This letter was dated Seminary, May 10, 1838, and therefore its writer was attacked as having wrongfully used his position as professor in a general institution to influence a diocesan question: an evidence of how, at that time, all discussions tended to personalities. An occasion for evincing this proclivity was unfortunately found in a matter which, one might think, did he not know man, could be treated temperately.

An extraordinary zeal had been kindled on the subject of missions, especially of foreign missions. The representatives of the Church had in 1835 solemnly proclaimed, The field is the world! and declared that every baptized member of the Church is, as such, a member of a missionary society. A new era of peace was hailed, and it was trusted that all the Church, forgetting differences, could work together for the spread of the common faith. The mere recognition of a principle does not solve all difficulties connected with carrying it out.

Although the field be the world, and the commissioned of Christ must go into all the world, every minister cannot be a Paul; nor is it the duty of every church to go everywhere, nor even to any distant land, if so doing involve the neglect of those close at hand. The United States, with their border land and their Indian territories, their scattered pioneers and heathen red men, furnish a very wide field which none but Americans are likely to enter on; a field which, in the estimate of some, might exercise all the energy of the American Church. Equally earnest men judged differently as to what rests on the Church. While there was abundant zeal for foreign missions, there were not a few who decidedly opposed them. Dr. Whitting-

ham * with his pen earnestly supported what the Church had undertaken, while the editor of *The Churchman* was among those who wrote against what they deemed a waste of the energies of the Church, and, as was his wont, in vigorous terms. Protesting against the sense which had been put upon his language, he proceeded to discuss principles which underlie the duty of carrying the Gospel to the infidel. What he wrote touching the salvability of the heathen was so startling that Professor Whittingham did not hesitate to denounce as pelagian the opinions of his brother professor. Dr. Seabury was then a teacher in the Seminary, though not a resident. Jealous for the character of the institution, his brother professor wrote to the editors of a religious newspaper urging that the doctrines complained of should not be considered as an indication of the teaching received in the General Seminary. Although marked "private and confidential," the substance of this letter—its indignant repudiation of the errors of *The Churchman*—found its way into print, and was followed by a personal retort so sharp that it ended for a time all intercourse between men who had been very close friends, entertaining for each other strong esteem. The controversy was not a private bickering; but although affecting many, it had no permanent results, is now forgotten, and would not now be mentioned except as furnishing an instance both of the indiscreet warmth and of the generous spirit of the subject of this memoir. The language of the letter printed in *The Recorder* was provoking certainly, but the answer was felt to be "specially unkind," and was so severe as to excite such indignation that the owners of *The Churchman* were about to request the resignation of the editor, when Dr. Whit-

* When he became bishop, and through personal responsibility realized the ungodliness of multitudes within the limits of his charge, and had cause daily to complain that he could not find support for men to carry the Gospel to them, then, as subsequent pages may possibly show, his understanding of the command, "Go ye into all the world," was somewhat modified.

tingham, hearing of their intention, went to their meeting and begged that no such mark of resentment in his behalf should be given, asserting at the same time that they could not possibly supply Dr. Seabury's place. This statement is made on the authority of one who was present. In the course of time anger burnt itself out, hurt feelings were soothed, and early mutual confidence was restored, for each, all the while, recognized the good qualities of the other.

Professor Whittingham was made a member of the Board of Missions. As such he furthered, what he heartily sympathized with, the missions to Eastern Christians which have been long since abandoned. On the occasion when the instructions of the board were publicly given to the Rev. Mr. Southgate, then about to sail for Asia, he read a speech, and records:

> Never before have we had in New York—I think not in the United States—a public meeting of churchmen in which the Catholicity of our Church was so prominently presented and insisted on with such unflinching uniform consistency. That spirit pervaded everything said and done. *Deo gratias.*

In June of the same year he preached before the board, and the next day offered a resolution, which was fully discussed but not favorably acted on, which manifests the spirit in which he rejoiced. Texas was then an independent republic, having not very long before achieved her recognition as such. Dr. Whittingham proposed sending the episcopate—three bishops—to Texas. The claims of the new State on our fostering care he rested on the fact of descent from us as men and as a republic.

> The peculiar circumstances of its origin, involving culpability,* are (he said) the more binding on us to do all that may be possible to wipe

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* Texas, which probably once formed part of Louisiana, had been ceded by the United States to Spain. After the Mexican revolution it had been colonized from the United States under the authority of Mexico. The colonists complained, doubtless justly, that their compact had been violated, and they de-

out that stain. We cannot retain in a state of tutelage a country isolated, likely to become suspicious, fearful of our influence. If we had the right and the power to do so, to exercise it would be injurious. Texas is not like to Africa or the Indies, but is like to ourselves, numbers and means alone excepted. As the civil Government is independent, so let their Church be independent. Let us give them a perfect Church with its three orders, capable of canonically continuing these orders; dependent on us only for those offices of love which the weaker may claim of the stronger. We must do something for Texas. What is proposed as a suggestion to be made by the board to the Church is what is primitive and most effectual. Considerations of expediency ought not to interfere with such a step. If it be right in the sight of God, we are bound to trust that he will bless what we undertake.

This proposal met with many objections. Among these it was said, Texans will think we have no right to impose bishops on them unless they see that they are to derive signal advantages.

Answer.—Is not the receiving of the Church of God an advantage? Some might object to having the Gospel in any form thrust on them. Besides, bishops are over those only who will receive them.

Might not the Government take offence and the relations of the two countries be affected?

Answer.—The Church has nothing to do with political bearings in a case of duty. The apostles did not consider them.

But why three bishops? Can three be needed for forty thousand souls?

Answer.—Yes, and find more than enough to do. But the full answer is that three are canonically requisite—even as England gave us three when we became independent.

Lastly, difficulty in obtaining men. Not three capable to maintain themselves, which they would be obliged to do.

Answer.—*Eheu! misera paupertas fidei!* What Scripture or canon requires a bishop to be rich and increased with goods?—[*W. R. W.'s notes.*]

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clared their independence. With their then numbers they could not have hoped to stand in their own strength. Many were brutally murdered, and all would have been swept away had they not received aid from this country, which was openly given. In New Orleans companies were formed, drilled, and armed by Texan agents, and when this was complained of as a violation of neutrality, like companies were formed under the name of emigrant associations, were armed by the same agents, marched to the boundary of Louisiana as emigrants, free to go where they pleased, and beyond the Sabine organized as Texan military companies.

The resolution offered could have been carried, but it was not deemed well to do so by a bare majority. It was committed, and, as is well known, the question of duty was settled by Texas asking admission to the Union.

This meeting of the board was the last which Dr. Whittingham attended as a presbyter. He was then Bishop-elect of Maryland. It was near the close of his connection with the Seminary. At this time, when there remained to the professor only to conduct his last examinations, there occurred an incident which shows the relations that existed between the teacher and his pupils, the affectionate confidence in his sympathy and in his judgment, which was given to the man rather than the professor. A number of the students had been earnestly considering together the duty of forming what, if their first thoughts had been carried out, would have been a religious order. Their deliberations were the beginning of what resulted in the founding of Nashotah, that noble act of faith from which so much of good has resulted to the Church, and especially to the Church in the Western States. On the same day not one only but several of these young men sought the counsel of Professor Whittingham. Of this he writes:

Adams communicated to me the fact that six, besides himself, of the middle class are seriously thinking of forming a Society of Protestant Monks * for a mission to the West, *i.e.*, going in company, under implicit obedience to their bishop, in celibacy, and throwing all their earnings into a common stock, to officiate statedly and itinerate in a given district, teach school, and found a library and perhaps hospitals. For this God's holy name be praised. Cautioned him against rashness, premature plans, and, above all, all kinds of pledges or vows.

Later in the day:

Found H. wishing to see me. He wanted to talk on the same subject as A. had. Advised him similarly, but more fully, giving

* It is not probable that this term was ever used by the students themselves.

reasons, (1) danger of self-conceit, (2) of hypocrisy. Counselled calm, quiet, humble acquiescence in God's will, subordinating to it all plans and resolves. M. called; long conversation with him about same topic as with A. and H.

Of the original seven—it is believed that some others were added to the number of those who took counsel together and purposed—at the close of the next session, when they graduated, three were found free and ready to make the venture of faith, Adams, Breck, and Hobart*—names worthy to be remembered. Association with the work they undertook, even if only by counsel, was a blessing on the ending of Prof. Whittingham's course at the Seminary.

When in January, 1836, Mr. Whittingham was made Professor of Ecclesiastical History, it seemed to him that, "please God," he had entered on the duties of his life. It is true that in the course of time the desire for the pastoral relation came to him, as for what would be for his "own soul's good," and he considered a proposal made to him to resume it; but he could not have framed a wish that looked to the severing of the ties that bound him to the Seminary. In September, 1840, he resigned this honorable position that

* After their work had begun in Wisconsin, then a border State, when they were living together in one single room, which opened into another in which lay a woman dying of consumption, and who felt that she could not breathe if the door were closed; when they were doing their own cooking and washing, with no store laid up for to-morrow; when they walked their circuit and waded streams to keep their appointments and preached in wet clothes, a fellow-student related the manner of life of his brethren to a prominent member of the bar in his county, a man of strong character and extended information, who died a papist. After a pause he remarked, "When your Church sends out men who from love for men can live after this fashion, then the days of Popery and of Methodism are numbered in this country." When a man of the world can thus recognize the power of self-sacrifice there must be, despite all that can be said of the need of endowment and of meet provision for the minister of the Gospel, there must be some meaning in the loving exhortation of St. Paul to his son Timothy, "Thou therefore endure hardness." If the world is to be conquered the soldiers of Jesus Christ must be willing to endure hardness and not entangle themselves with the affairs of this life. *Eheu! Deteriora sequor.* This is written in the midst of all comforts.

had given him as much of happiness as he could venture to hope for. He did so because he had been called to occupy another more honored by men in general, but recognized by him as imposing grievous responsibilities, and certainly found by him to elevate as a cross lifts up. Forced, as it seemed to him, to resign, he was glad to be able, through his personal influence with Mr. Stuyvesant, to secure the nomination to his vacated chair for his young friend, Dr. John D. Ogilby, who was duly elected Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

While Dr. Whittingham was a member of the faculty, there were three resident professors who were dean by turns. Of these the gentle, conservative Dr. Wilson represented the school of whom Pearson and John Scott may be taken as the type. The position of Dr. Turner was betokened by his action with the American Bible Society, and by the fact that his exegesis was in the main drawn from German commentators. Dr. Whittingham differed from these, not only from the fact that he was much younger than those who had been his Seminary teachers and that he was of another temperament, but also from the fact that while he was of an age to be more readily influenced, that movement was begun which stirred so many hearts in England and has made its Church of the present so different from what it was in the first quarter of this century. Already holding their chief principles as taught by Andrewes and his compeers and by the divines of the Restoration period, when the Anglo-Catholic school made their influence to be felt, he heartily rejoiced in their promise of success. He read and used their writings; he gave his name as editor to the works of Percival and Newman and Palmer. From the time that they first appeared, Keble's poems were his constant companion, and many a lonely hour when he was abroad was solaced by the sweet Christian poet. He read over and over again what he was perfectly familiar with, not as many did who praised the book because their ear was soothed, but

appreciating the truth intended to be conveyed. Pusey was greatly respected, and Newman was loved as a personal friend, the "Parish Sermons" being to him what no other sermons ever had been. Having always repudiated the name High Churchman, that he would have refused to be called Anglo-Catholic one may well suppose; but what the Anglo-Catholics implied when they so called themselves, such he was, holding firmly to Catholic truths as set forth by the great English divines. The spirit of the early tractarians he impressed on his pupils; but yet he has said that he did not think the republication of the Oxford tracts advisable, and the tone of the later tracts startled him. Looked up to as a leader by those in the Seminary who had their young minds fired by the revival of Catholicity, had he remained longer as such, in all probability some of the evils which were afterward felt there would have been lessened—they could not have been wholly avoided.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND—THE DIOCESE—ELECTION OF ITS FOURTH BISHOP.

1634–1840.

In an age when religious toleration was not looked upon as a virtue, the founders of the province of Maryland made all who worshipped Christ equal before the law. The establishment of this equality was a ruling principle with the Lord Proprietary. Within fifteen years after the landing at St. Mary's he appointed as his lieutenant one who held a form of faith different from his own, and to him prescribed an oath exacting that no person, in respect of his religion, should be excluded from equal protection or from office under Government. The next year, with the advice and assent of the General Assembly, he solemnly enacted that no one within the province should be molested in the free exercise of his religion.*

In Maryland Roman Catholics make this fact their boast; and inasmuch as the Lord Proprietary was a Roman Catholic, and the first settlers—the greater number of those who were entitled to franchise—were Roman Catholics, they may fairly claim the credit of it. Even the fact that they

* Freedom of conscience in the modern sense was not then conceived. This "Act concerning Religion" ordained that whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, *i.e.*, curse him, or shall deny our Saviour to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, or the Godhead of any of the said Three Persons, etc., shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods. Also that should any speak reproachfully concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, or any of the apostles or evangelists, he shall be liable to fine and imprisonment.

were a minority in the Assembly of 1649 proves only how soon men of other forms of religion found a welcome in their midst.

Unfortunately their claim is adduced in religious controversy. To do away with its force the motives of the Calverts are traduced. It is as invidious to do this as it is foolish to fear that giving honor to the enlightened spirit that prompted toleration in Maryland is to grant the deductions of religious partizans. The Calverts were, what a Roman Catholic asserts, "generous of soul;" but to prove that they "embraced toleration" because of the spirit of the form of religion to which they had submitted, one must be taken to Rome and be there shown what was the degree of toleration under papal rule when it was civilly absolute. It is said by Roman Catholic writers that the charter of Maryland, which was drawn up by the first Lord Baltimore, shows the purpose of his mind. Be it so. In all that concerns religion, and in nearly every other respect, it is almost a transcript of the charter of Avalon, which was granted to him while he was yet a member of the Church in England. Perhaps the reference to future consecrations of churches was a chance addition in transcribing! *

Modern research has shown that the first Lord Baltimore, a liberal and intelligent man, desired to found in the New World a home for English liberty endangered by the contest of factions. After he became a Roman Catholic he had, as an additional motive, the wish to give refuge to his co-religionists. His son was of like mind. They would

* The two charters, in almost the same wording, grant "the patronages and advowsons of all churches" which, with the increasing worship and religion of Christ, shall happen to be built. The Maryland charter adds: "Together with license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, etc. . . . and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England." Could a doubt be suggested touching what James and Charles understood by "Christian religion" or "religion of Christ," there is room for none as regards the then existing ecclesiastical laws. The Lords Proprietary never exercised the rights and privileges given them over churches, etc.

have been blind had they supposed that they could imitate the New Englanders—England being what it then was—and attempt to exclude from their province all but true believers. The Ark and the Dove were searched for malignants, and there can be little doubt that Leonard and George Calvert were obliged to take a test oath before sailing.

One has but to note how soon the year of the execution of Charles followed 1634, when Maryland was settled, to see that the utmost that could be hoped for was equality for all believers in Christ. It was a dictate of prudence to appoint a Protestant governor. And the "Act concerning Religion" of 1649 was clearly an act for the protection of papists. It was none the less the act of an enlightened statesman. It certainly was not the device of Protestant liberality. It was framed in England by the Lord Proprietary with the counsel of the head of the Jesuits, who was a descendant of Chancellor More. As sent to them it was adopted by the General Assembly. By withholding credit from its author nothing is gained but the poor satisfaction of detraction from an opponent.

On the other hand, Roman Catholics do not act wisely in seeking to press doubtful arguments. Facts suffice. It is enough to say that while in the neighboring Church of England colony no dissenter, papist or puritan could abide in peace, and while in the puritan colonies of New England Romanist, and Anglican, and Quaker—all save the saints—were objects of persecution, in Maryland, settled and so first ruled by papists, all who would obey the law were in the eye of the law equal. There was here no approach to a connection of Church and State, although there were charter rights over the Church which were not enforced until after the Crown had assumed dominion. By avoiding the officers who searched the vessels Roman Catholic priests were enabled to accompany the first emigrants, and there was with them no other minister of religion; but these priests, although they accompanied the expedition by

the expressed wish of Lord Baltimore, received no exclusive advantages in the province. Nor did any of their successors. With usual foresight they obtained extensive lands, it is true, but only, as did other private adventurers, by right of colonizing. No more than others could they in any way enforce their views. In reports to their superiors, lately published, they complain of this their crippled condition. Among the first settlers were certain puritans in the condition of servants. Even these were defended against the religious zeal of their masters. They complained, and had their independence in spiritual matters secured to them; and the Roman Catholics who had wronged them were fined.

In a short while, 1643, an invitation was sent to the colonists in New England, asking them to come to a milder climate, and promising entire freedom of conscience.* One can imagine how much of attraction this promise must have had with earnest men who so clearly understood what the righteous should do with Agag. Although this invitation was neglected, the sanctuary open for all of every Christian creed was gladly sought as a refuge from oppression.

The "Act concerning Religion" of 1649, forbidding the use of terms of reproach such as Presbyterian, Puritan, Independent, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, etc., is supposed to show how soon a multitude of sects were represented on popish soil. Quakers came, and although in 1659 they were threatened, by order of council, with being "whipt from constable to constable until they be sent out of the Province," in the course of time they equalled, it is said, the number of the Roman Catholics; and, later, they alone gave the descendants of the first settlers sympathy as enduring hardships with them. Puritans came from Virginia and elsewhere, and brought with them their tender con-

*This invitation and promise would have been sheer nonsense had the Roman Catholics at that time been in the feeble condition supposed by those who make much of the fact that in the General Assembly which passed the "Act concerning Religion," Protestants were largely in the majority.

sciences which at first made the oath of allegiance, although explained to them before immigration, "to be exceedingly scrupled on account that they must swear to uphold that government and those officers who were sworn to countenance and uphold Anti-Christ;" and afterward constrained them to put down the government which had protected them. There came Presbyterians, who had here their first organizations in the colonies, and also men of the Church of England. Indeed, when Leonard Calvert arrived in the Chesapeake he found on Kent Island a Church of England congregation with its priest; this was broken up, or, at least, its minister forced to return to England, not because it was Anglican, but because of the Claiborne troubles, which made them to be counted as rebels to the Proprietary.

The growth of the Church in Maryland was without observation. Congregations were formed and ministers were maintained, so that there must have been houses for worship in various parts of the province. In the records of 1642 there is a curious entry. A petition was presented in the name of the *Protestant-Catholics* of Maryland, "complaining against Mr. Th. Gerard for taking away the key of the chapel and carrying away the books out of the chapel." Mr. Scharf, in his "History of Maryland," thinks it probable that these Protestant-Catholics, spoken of also as Protestants, were Episcopalians as yet without a minister; for Gerard being found guilty of a misdemeanor was condemned to "pay for a fine five hundred pounds tobacco toward the maintenance of the first minister as should arrive." In 1676, according to the testimony of Charles Calvert, the second Count Palatine, the members of "the Church of England" and the "Romish Church" were the fewest,* they together forming only one-fourth of the in-

* The statements respecting the proportion of different religious bodies in Maryland are not uniform. Lord Baltimore writes that in 1677 the "greatest part of the inhabitants—three of four, at least—do consist of Presbyterians,

habitants. At this time, according to the same authority, there were "residing there foure ministers of the Church of England that the Lord Baltimore knows of, who have plantations and settled beings of their owne, and those that have not any such beings are maintained by a voluntary contribution of those of their owne persuasion."

This was asserted in a declaration to the Privy Council in answer to a petition from the Rev. Mr. Yeo, of Patuxent, to the primate, that Lord Baltimore should be solicited "for some established support for a Protestant ministry." The reverend gentleman writes:

> The province of Maryland is in a deplorable condition for want of an established ministry. Here are . . . at least twenty thousand souls and but three Protestant ministers of the Church of England. The priests are provided for, and the Quakers take care of those that are speakers, but no care is taken to build up churches in the Protestant religion.

It may be that the ministers who had "settled beings of their owne" were satisfied without a cure of souls. Mr. Yeo obtained for himself also a plantation of five hundred acres by moving into Baltimore County and taking a legacy left to the first Protestant minister who should come into the county. Perhaps he lived to see the good time for which he had petitioned; it was not far off.

In 1689 a body of "Associators," "stirred up by the overruling hand of Divine Providence in opening their eyes to discern their duty," by force of arms rescued the Government from the hands of the king's enemies, and then, as became "professors of the best of religions and subjects of the best of princes," they prayed King William to give

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Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers." Scharf, in his History of Maryland, vol. i., p. 315, says that in 1689 the Protestants outnumbered the Papists by about thirty to one. While *ante*, p. 155, he quotes from an existing letter of Governor Sharpe, written in 1758: "The people who first settled in this province were, for the most part, Roman Catholics, and . . . a majority of the inhabitants continued Papists till the Revolution."

them a Protestant government. To their prayer William graciously hearkened, and leaving (be it said to his credit) to the Proprietary his private dues, he assumed the government of the province, and in 1692 his governor arrived in Maryland. An Assembly was convened whose first act was a recognition of the title of William and Mary, and their second the making the Church of England the established Church of the province. It provided for the division of the ten counties into thirty parishes, and imposed an annual tax of forty pounds of tobacco upon each taxable person as a fund for the building of churches and the support of the clergy. There were errors in this act which enabled those who were wronged by it to oppose its confirmation; but in the end, without modification as to its intended features, it became law. The active opponents were Quakers and Roman Catholics, who together were but one-sixth of the inhabitants; the Presbyterians were but few. What became of the numerous bodies spoken of in histories of Maryland as the Puritans? They did not form separate religious organizations. Probably they were absorbed in the Church for the support of which, willingly or unwillingly, they had to pay. It is to be noted that in those parts of the country in which the Puritans are said to have chiefly settled, there Bishop Whittingham in the early years of his episcopate met greatest opposition. At the time of the passage of the act there were but few clergymen in the land; if more than three, certainly not nearly enough to supply the parishes then defined. In 1700 there were but seventeen. And now even-handed justice in religious matters came to an end. Soon to the wrong of a tax without benefit was added persecution of Roman Catholics, on the pretext that they were enemies to the State. The reproach which is cast upon the Church in England as an *Established* Church justly belongs to her children in Maryland; their religion was made dominant by civil law. The Church, which had thus far been self-sustaining wherever it existed, after 1704 entered on a

new phase of life, with the advantages and all the disadvantages of a connection with the State without sympathy, and superadded the burden of being without discipline; for the Government had the cruelty not only not to give, but to deny to the colonies the Divine rule. The land was divided up into parishes, of necessity too extensive. In each parish was a church and often one or more chapels of ease, built at the cost of all within the boundaries. The parson had, in general, his glebe as well as his parsonage, and his salary, although affected by the varying value of tobacco, was assured, as were all necessary parish expenses, by a tax.

The first brick church in Maryland was built in 1694 in the new town of Annapolis, to which the seat of government was removed, and which was laid off as if to typify the union of Church and State, for the main streets radiate from two centres, from the government house and from the church. At an early period, and, judging from a prevailing type of building, probably simultaneously, other brick buildings rose up throughout the province. Below Annapolis, down the bay, there was a chain of churches ten or fifteen miles apart.* At a later period some of the parishes had separate vestries in which were kept parish libraries. Mention of these libraries is made in earlier complaints touching the decadence of the Church; and on my own shelves are

*In one of these bayside parishes—whose record dates from 1692—the writer began his ministerial life. The church is a solid brick structure with chamfer-channelled quoins, wide, arch-headed windows, a south porch, and opposite a wide north door, near which, before "improvements" were introduced, stood a wine-glass pulpit with sounding-board and clerk's desk; the eastern end was cut off by a rail as a chancel, and at the west was a square bell-tower, the lower part of which was used as a robing-room. The bell was seized for its metal during the Revolutionary War. At the west end was also a gallery for servants; the flooring was of plain English tiles, and probably the bricks were English also. Like to this in general arrangement are others of the colonial buildings. After various changes there still remain traces of church ornamentation. In one church, at least, in an adjoining county, there is evidence that, in what is our early ages, the good people, who always claimed to be Protestant, were familiar with what are now counted, and by some feared, as novelties tending to popery.

books gathered in widely separated parishes with the parish mark on them. Tradition says that before the American Revolution the congregations were crowded; the poorer coming on foot, the smaller planters and their families on horseback, the wealthy, who alone rode in carriages, in their coach and four. At times and in some places the slaves were also assembled in the churchyard for oral instruction. After the establishment the clergy were—whatever else they were—freed from temptations to abandon their cures. From the beginning the "forty per poll" tax was considered by some to be an unjust burden, to be lessened if it could not be wholly shaken off, and the clergy were often called on to watch over what they deemed their rights. Despite modifications of the tax, salaries gradually increased, and before they were wholly taken away, in one parish at least the rector received as much as a thousand pounds sterling. The clergy held the position of country gentlemen.* In a parish below Annapolis once held by the writer, just before the crash came the rector was an English gentleman of varied learning and of high culture. He was like to those described by Lord Baltimore as having "plantations and settled beings of their owne." His estate was such that nine slaves were required to keep his garden in order.

It should be added that here and there are still found tokens that Maryland was a favored object of interest with Queen Anne. During more than three-quarters of a century this prosperity belonged to Maryland. Was it prosperity? At

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* "The clergy in this part of the world will be found to possess advantages greatly superior to the generality of their brethren in the mother country. . . . Each incumbent has a neat and convenient habitation, with a sufficient quantity of land in proper cultivation to answer every useful and domestic purpose; and the emoluments arising from the least beneficial preferment are amply sufficient to support an appearance perfectly consistent with the respectability of the clerical profession. . . . From the great increase of population which is daily taking place in that beautiful and fertile country, it [All Saints', Frederick County] will very probably soon produce an income little inferior to many English bishoprics."—Letters from America, etc., 1769 to 1777, by Wm. Eddis, late Surveyor of Customs at Annapolis.

the best such a Church must have found many hindrances to the maintenance of true religion. But a Church established by law, under the nominal supervision of a bishop beyond the seas, whose hands were tied however willing he might have been, and who sometimes seemed to care nothing, perhaps because he knew he could do nothing—a Church with no discipline, no practical mode of remedying evils glaring and not even denied, what but miraculous interposition could have saved it from grievous scandals? It is true that soon after the Crown assumed the government of the province, Dr. Compton, the then Bishop of London, responded to a petition for aid, and appointed as his commissary Dr. Bray, to whom American churchmen owe no small debt of gratitude for his self-sacrificing zeal in behalf of the colonies. After spending four years in England laboring for the cause which had stirred his sympathies, Dr. Bray came to America in 1700, made a general inspection of the parishes under his charge, held a visitation in Annapolis which was attended by seventeen clergymen, probably all who were in the province, and soon after went back to England through the necessity of meeting opposition of dissenters and securing the royal sanction for re-enacted statutes of the Assembly establishing the Church. Dr. Bray continued to be commissary, but he did not again visit America. Twenty-five years later two clergymen of the province were made commissaries, one for each shore, and in a short time the whole burden was put upon one of them, Rev. Mr. Henderson, who faithfully and bravely attempted to discharge his duties, but in the end yielded the hopeless contest with evil. He might be useful as the head of the clergy in looking after their contested temporal interests, but he could do nothing in defence of religion. Thus, excepting for a short while, there was not even an attempt at discipline. The difficulty was this: the charter of Maryland granted and confirmed to the barons of Baltimore "the patronages and advowsons of all churches," etc. There is

no reason to suppose that these rights were ever assumed by the Roman Catholic absolute lords and proprietaries. But, as of course, they were acted on when the Church was established under the Crown, and they continued to be exercised when the Government was restored to the Calverts. Practically the appointment to a parish rested with the governor, for he inducted. Once the parson was in possession there was no acknowledged power that could disturb him, however unworthy before or after. The last time the clergy approached the colonial Government, about 1770, petitioning for what might secure to them episcopal rule, they were answered that all benefices are "donations," implying, what is not true, that therefore there could be no room for the exercise of episcopal supervision. All manner of scandals were the result of having benefices to excite greed and no control over those who might obtain them in any way if only they could show letters of ordination. It is a matter to be thankful for that the body of the clergy endeavored, although in vain, to protect the Church. Some incidents may show the evils they had to contend with. The first is related on the authority of trustworthy local tradition.

A clergyman on his way to Maryland, or purposing to emigrate, died. His valet assumed the clerical garb of his master, took possession of his letters of orders, his stock of sermons and other papers, continued the journey to Maryland, and here under the name of the dead clergyman acted as a clergyman for a long time.

In another county occurred this outrage. A known profligate in orders obtained, through family influence, an important parish. The congregation rose up and declared that he should not come among them. They accordingly barred the windows and put extra locks on the doors of the church. But they had to deal with a resolute man. A window was forced, and when the good people thereupon entered through the opened door they found their pastor in the desk, his opened prayer-book flanked on either side by a pistol, and he ready

to address them as dearly beloved brethren. Having "read himself in," his future concern was only with the sheriff of the county, who could not but pay over to him the taxes collected for the support of religion.

In his "Contributions," Dr. Hawks gives a picture of the open drunkenness of some of the clergy, and states that the Assembly took steps for the appointment of a court of laymen to correct the wicked lives of clergymen. The whole body could not but suffer from the profligacy of some of its members. Added to this evil was increasing resentment on the part of many against taxation for which the good and the bad equally contended as for their right. It is not surprising that the apparent self-denial of the Romish clergy and their zeal gained them credit, and that the number of the Roman Catholics increased, not only by immigration, but by gains from the Church as well as from other bodies.

Later, during the years of excitement that preceded the storm of the Revolution, there came to Maryland followers of the Wesleys, still further to lessen the authority of the Church as it was then organized. Their influence extended among all classes, and it was rightly felt. Ranters and enthusiasts they might be called, but they were in earnest, and insisted on holiness and showed that they prized heaven above earth. They were the more damaging to the establishment, and the better fitted to take its place when it was broken up, by the fact that they still counted themselves to be churchmen. It is a remarkable fact that they were suspected, and notably Mr. Asbury, afterward Methodist bishop, who was arrested, and, during two years, silenced, because of this love for the Church, which was considered by the patriots to be a proof of love for England.

In all probability, had there been no rejection of provincial rule there would have been disestablishment, for even the legality of the act of 1702, by which the establishment was confirmed, was denied and would have been tested in

the courts of justice. But revolution closed discussion, and the end came suddenly.

When, in 1776, the people assumed the Government and bade the representative of the Lord Proprietary leave the State, they issued a bill of rights in which was declared the duty of every man to worship God according to his own conscience; his title to protection in so doing, and that he should not be compelled to maintain any worship but such as he might choose to attend. At the same time this "declaration" recognized the principle of public support for the ministers of the Gospel—the right of the Legislature to tax the people for the maintenance of religion or of charities.

"The Church of England" in Maryland was thus at once deprived of the support on which it had rested, if not of that which upheld it. But yet it was dealt with in a spirit of fairness not common in times of such excitement, probably because of the fact that the majority of men of influence were churchmen. No property then owned by her was confiscated, and in a short time all was formally confirmed to her forever, although it could not be denied that at least all churches and chapels had been built by general taxation. Arrearages of salary were ordered to be paid, and all contracts for the building or repairs of churches to be fulfilled. This enactment, however, was not enforced.*

The consequences of this sudden disestablishment, and of all the circumstances that produced it, were, for the time, most disastrous. Through inability to recognize the dominant power as ordained of God and that to which their allegiance was due, at least one-third of the clergy abandoned their cures. A few were indicted for treasonable practices; among these, it is believed, was Jonathan Boucher, of

* A letter of the Convention of 1794 to the vestries and other members speaks of "those glebes left to our Church in happier times by some of her pious members," as though all glebes had been so obtained.

Prince George's, a decided adherent of the old Government and one of the ablest of the American clergy. Others, who perhaps would not have been prosecuted, with the indicted fled to England. Some found refuge in neighboring States, while others remained in Maryland silenced as suspected. Those who embraced the popular cause were, in the main, excepting where possessed of private means, left in indigence; parishioners who had never felt the duty of giving for the support of religion, and had paid their dues probably with the grudging with which taxes are paid, were little likely to consider the claims of their ministers, especially in a time of general distress. Churches were closed or used for other purposes than churchly worship. Glebes and parsonages were abandoned. In some places churches were never again used as such. In many places they fell into decay, only to be revived in happier times long years subsequent.

We are told that the Church was looked upon with suspicion, perhaps because of her very name. But this could only have been among opponents who rejoiced in her downfall. In 1789 there was legislation for her relief. Not long after, vestries recognized by this act, evidently after conference but yet not conjointly, prayed the General Assembly to act on their recognized principle and lay a tax for the general support of religion. No action was taken, and some of the vestries, because of the stress of the times, withdrew their petitions. "On the happy establishment of peace"—before the definitive treaty had been signed—Governor Paca in council, in an address to the General Assembly, recommended "the making such provision as the constitution, in this case, authorizes and approves" for the "public support for the ministers of the Gospel."

"A copy of this address, about a week after it was delivered to the Assembly, came into the hands of sundry of the Episcopal clergy," who "were occasionally assembled at the first commencement in Washington College, May,

1783." * They saw that the time for action looking to the reorganizing the Church had come, and inasmuch as the property of the Church stood in the name of the Church of England, they deemed it proper to ask of the civil power permission to convene and make such change in name and forms of worship as circumstances demanded, and also to take steps for the continuation of the ministry. This request, when made, excited suspicious opposition, as though a reunion of Church and State were contemplated. It was, however, readily granted. Accordingly, on August 13, 1783, fifteen clergymen met together in Annapolis. They appointed a committee "to prepare the draft of an act or charter of incorporation to enable the *Episcopal Church* of this State as a body corporate to hold goods," etc. They also set forth "a declaration of certain fundamental rights and liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland," a copy of which was presented to his excellency the governor. In the preamble to this declaration it is assumed that "the ecclesiastical and spiritual independence of the different religious denominations . . . and Churches of Christians in this State necessarily follows from, or is included in, their civil independence."

The title taken by the clergy of the Church "heretofore denominated the Church of England by law established," who had thus had spiritual independence thrust upon them by force of arms without the consent of either party con-

* The Rev. Dr. Allen, as historiographer of the diocese, presented to the Convention two reports containing the results of his investigations—the first in 1855, the second in 1878—which are appended to the journals for those years. He asserts that "the first Convention of the Diocese of Maryland was convened at Chestertown, Kent Co., November 9, 1780," giving the names of clergy and laity who were present; and that at this Convention the petition which was presented by some vestries to the General Assembly "was read and approved and ordered to be sent to each vestry in the State." But subsequently, in proof that the second Convention was held in Chestertown in 1781, he shows that certain gentlemen were deputed by their vestries to meet and "petition the General Assembly of the State to pass an act for the maintenance of the Gospel," etc.—that is, to do what, he says, had been done formally the year before. "A meeting was appointed and provided for, and doubtless did take place."

cerned, is "The Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland." In a marginal note referring to the declaration Bishop Whittingham has written: "So far as I can discover the first time that title is used." It has been generally attributed to the invention of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, one of the two who prayed "that the clergy may have leave to consult," etc., who presided at their Convention in June, 1784, and at all others so long as he remained in the State, and who was the prominent man in the Maryland Church at that time. But in the Maryland archives is a letter from the Rev. James Jones Wilmer to Bishop Claggett, in which he asserts for himself the doubtful honor.*

To claim descent from the Church of England, which, as the declaration shows, teaches that "an episcopal ordination and commission are necessary to the valid administration of the Sacraments," and so to claim an inheritance that the civil Government disposed of, it may have been necessary to set forth that the clergy were of the Episcopal Church. The name Protestant had been a familiar one at least from the time when, in 1692, an act was passed "for the service of Almighty God and the establishment of the Protestant religion." In retired country places where old usages linger, when the writer first came to Maryland our branch of the Catholic Church was still distinguished from all other religious bodies as "the Protestant Church."

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* If this gentleman's claims have been forgotten of history they were not underestimated by himself. Writing to Bishop Claggett on May 26, 1810, and referring to a rectorship the appointment to which seemed to be in the hands of the bishop, he said: "I might consider myself as somewhat entitled to any cure in the Union, especially when it is recollected that I am one of the three who first organized the Episcopal Church during the Revolution, and consequently am one of the primary aids of its consolidation throughout the United States. The Rev. Dr. Smith, Dr. Keene, and myself held the first Convention at Chestertown, and I acted as the secretary. The second meeting was held in Baltimore, where we added the Rev. Dr. Andrews and the Rev. Dr. West." No date is assigned to these "first" and "second" Conventions. This gentleman is remarkable from the fact that being a presbyter he received from Bishop Claggett a license to preach, which license was afterward recalled and surrendered. He was a Swedenborgian.

Having stated what is necessary for the due organization of the Church, the declaration in its Article IV. makes known and claims "that as it is the right so it will be the duty of the said Church, when duly organized, constituted, and represented in a synod or convention of the different orders of her ministry and people, to revise her liturgy." The Catholic principle is here announced, and, as if constrained by it, the clergy did not separate without having made choice of one to be ordained their bishop.

But Maryland lost the credit of having maintained acknowledged principle. The next year, when a Convention of clergy and of lay delegates was held in Annapolis, they proceeded, without a bishop, to "essay a plan of ecclesiastical government for the Episcopal Church in this State, and to define therein the duties of bishops, priests, and deacons in matters spiritual," etc. The committee to whom this *essay* was entrusted, not having had time to accomplish it, reported certain fundamental principles, the second among which is: "According to what we conceive to be of true apostolic institution, the duty and office of a bishop differs in nothing from that of other priests, except in the power of ordination and confirmation, and in the right of precedency in ecclesiastical meetings or synods, and shall accordingly be so exercised in this Church." This estimate of the bishop's office may be simply a repetition of that of St. Jerome; or it may be read so as to justify rectorial independence, which doubtless then existed, which never since has lacked maintenance, and which three-quarters of a century later, in the hearing of the writer, found expression from the lips of a presbyter in his place as a member of a Maryland Convention: "I do not believe in episcopal visitations excepting for the purpose of confirmation. I want no bishop to come nosing about in my parish." Before their first bishop had been consecrated, the presbyters and the laity of Maryland had fully organized themselves, with liturgy and constitution and canons,

and had formed a union with what they considered to be other independent dioceses. They did run well,—what did hinder them?

At the first Convention of the fifteen clergymen in 1783, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Smith, of Chester, Kent County, was elected bishop, and his speedy consecration was looked for. In a letter still preserved, the Rev. Dr. Claggett, afterward first Bishop of Maryland, wrote to a friend:

> I suppose you have long ago heard that the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church met last month at Annapolis, and that we formed a bill of rights; chose Dr. Smith to go to Europe to be ordained an *antistes*, president of the clergy, or bishop, if that name does not hurt your feelings. He will probably be back some time next spring.

The well-known jealousy of the times is indicated by the terms of this letter.* A fragment of the MS. journal of an adjourned Convention of clergy and laity, held October, 1784, refers to "the gentleman to be consecrated;" and in 1786, at the third annual Convention, Dr. Smith caused to be entered among the proceedings a testimonial from the vestry of the parish of which he was rector respecting himself, and having reference to his "election to the office of bishop by his brethren." At the Convention of 1789, Dr. Smith resigned the presidency he had till now held, being about to remove to Philadelphia, having been recalled by the Assembly of Pennsylvania to his former connection with the College and Academy of Philadelphia. Tradition assigns a reason, but why he was not consecrated does not appear on the records, nor indeed is his election

* "I cannot conceive on what principle the colonists are so strongly prejudiced against the introduction of the episcopal order. . . . Throughout the southern provinces the members of the Established Church greatly exceed those of all other denominations; yet I am persuaded any attempt to establish an hierarchy would be resisted with as much acrimony as during the gloomy prevalence of puritanical zeal."—Letters from America, etc., comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777, by William Eddis, late Surveyor of the Customs at Annapolis, etc.

mentioned in any journal published at the time. No objection was raised to his election by the clergy alone.

When, in 1783, fifteen clergymen, in the name of the Church in Maryland, presented to the governor a declaration of rights, there were nominally forty-seven parishes, some of them without a vestry, many of them without a rector; and of these the greater number maintaining a struggle for existence indicated subsequently by frequent changes of starved-out clergy, and by complaints of insufficient support continued year after year in Convention. The Rev. Ethan Allen gives the names of thirty clergymen in 1783, and of thirty-nine in 1786. But yet it is a fact that in 1789 twenty-nine parishes and only sixteen clergymen had in convention ratified, or afterward accepted the constitution and canons. These alone then constituted the diocese, if that be a diocese which has never had an episcopal head. As late as 1803 the bishop complained that "not much less than one-half the parishes are vacant." For destitute places, where worship was kept up at all, during a long time no provision was attempted but that of lay readers, with an occasional visit from clergymen for ministerial functions. There had been no wild boar of the wood to root up the planting of the Lord, but the boughs thereof were no longer like goodly cedar trees. There had been nothing like persecution or political wrongs, but the Church had decayed through the fact that her stay had not been a supernatural one; when left to her own spiritual claims her children fell away or were lukewarm. There were true men who labored faithfully for the organization of the Church, but there were not many of clergy or laity who attended Convention. Perhaps poverty from the first was a hindrance to zeal, as not unfrequently in later years are heard complaints of the cost of attendance.

By the early acts of Maryland churchmen nothing is more clearly indicated than the independence which was taken for granted. The leaders seem to have thought that it be-

longed to them to bring order out of chaos. They were descendants of the Church of England, and as such claimed her civil inheritance; they also recognized that for the validity of the Sacraments they must have a ministry of episcopal ordination. From the mother Church had come to them a liturgy and forms of prayer which they hoped they would not have to alter very much. But they had no perception that any law rested on them; this, they thought, they had to devise for themselves, for all connection with the past, as it seemed to them, had been severed by the act of civil revolution. Even when accepting the constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, they brought these to the test of their own prior standard. The best sign of a catholic spirit governing them is seen in their insisting on the insertion of the Nicene Creed in the proposed Book of Common Prayer which they were willing to accept.

We may well believe that the seeds of religious dissension were never wanting, for such weeds do not spring up in a night; but if there were ecclesiastical differences there are no marks of party spirit in the early journals. In 1792, thirty-two parishes being represented, eleven of them by lay delegates only, the Convention, having first ratified the amended constitution and canons, proceeded to the election of a bishop, according to notice given the year before. The clergy unanimously chose, and the laity with equal unanimity accepted, the Rev. Dr. Thomas John Claggett. A resolution was passed expressing the wish that his consecration should be performed by the four existing bishops. This desire was fulfilled. Thus was continued in the American Church the succession through the line of Scotch bishops. Bishop Seabury took part in no other consecration.

Bishop Claggett, son of the Rev. Samuel Claggett, was born in Prince George's County, in 1742. All his life was spent among his own people, excepting when he went to Princeton for his collegiate education and to England for

orders. His communications to Convention show him to have been an earnest man, plain and direct. Although learned, he did not so prize human learning as not to be willing to dispense with literary requirements if zealous and devout men, attached to the doctrines of the Church, could be found to fill some of the many vacant parishes in his diocese. "As a preacher he certainly stood in the foremost rank:" such is the testimony of Bishop Kemp. His ecclesiastical position may be judged from his estimate of his rights as a bishop, his dislike of "clerical associations" unless under the control of Convention,* and on the other hand, from his considering it to be "one of the greatest felicities of his life that he had aided in the establishment of the XXXIX. Articles" as "our Articles of Faith." The diocese over which he was bishop, with feeble congregations, decaying churches, and ill-paid clergy, was in many respects very different from the established Church of the province in which he was born. The contrast was not calculated to win him from his convictions of the benefit to the Church from State support. In his address to the Convention of 1803 he says:

> The advantages which Christianity offered to civil government were so great as to be thought for many ages absolutely essential to their very existence. Christendom affords no instance, from the

* Clerical associations more than once obtained the sanction of a resolution of approval in Convention; it may be presumed that no one was willing to restrain liberty. The objection on the part of some was that, formed of cliques, they were supposed to strengthen party spirit; and also that the services held by them were sometimes conducted too nearly after the manner of other religious bodies. In the first years of his episcopate, Bishop Whittingham, who strove to unite all in common work, established societies of all the clergy within convenient limits, of which convocations, as they were called, he was the head. So long as he actually presided, these unions for awakening services were a success; but in time, together with the associations still preferred by some, these ceased to be. Now the diocese is divided into four convocations under the authority of the Convention, each having its dean, who, besides presiding at semi-annual meetings of the whole body, on request calls together a suitable number of clerical members and in one or another parish conducts services during two or three days. Thus what Bishop Claggett desired is now secured.

time of Constantine to the formation of the American Constitution, of a single government which did not protect and support it. The American Constitution, although preserved by it, offers it only toleration. It suffers it to wander about our country in the character of a mendicant.

Soon after his consecration Bishop Claggett began what he intended should be a visitation of every parish. He had gone over all the State excepting two counties and a few parishes, most of which were vacant, when a long and painful illness interrupted his purpose. During this visitation he confirmed about two thousand persons; he was encouraged by signs of a reviving Church, but had seen nearly everywhere neglect of the patrimony of the Church; and he found a great drawback to prosperity to be "the incompetent provision for the clergy, subscriptions almost everywhere and every year decreasing and worse paid." During all his episcopate this neglect of the due support of the ministry continued to be a matter of complaint, and also of varying unavailing legislation. Nothing was ever said by the bishop with regard to his own support. No salary had been pledged on his election. The obligation to defray the expenses of visitation and other duties of his office was recognized; and there was legislation, which is the easiest of all things in ecclesiastical bodies, but the response was such that the contributions of the diocese one year amounted to $105 and never equalled $300. More than once, by resolution or by canon, it was declared that the bishop shall not be obliged to visit any parish which had not contributed to the fund for payment of such visitation, "although he may if he choose." The bishop did choose. He was the rector of a parish and happily possessed a sufficient patrimony, and was thus enabled to live. The only interruptions to his duties as bishop were from sickness. His infirmities so increased with advancing years that in 1811 he asked for an assistant, "neither the laws of God, nor of the Church, nor his own wishes permitting him to desert the interests of the Church of Mary-

land." In 1812 he defined a coadjutor to be an assistant having authority independent of the bishop, and a suffragan to be one over whose jurisdiction that of the bishop is paramount, and he declared "an assistant of the suffragan description is the only one I shall be able conscientiously to accept." At this Convention the Rev. Drs. Kemp and Contee were nominated; Dr. Kemp received the votes of two-thirds of the clergy but not of the laity. There were at this time thirty-two clergymen entitled to seats, but only seventeen were present. Probably the next year the need of the bishop was not so evident; there was no attempt made to give the relief he had asked for. In 1814 Drs. Kemp and Contee were again voted for, with precisely the same result so far as the clerical order was concerned—of seventeen votes twelve were cast for Dr. Kemp: the number of lay delegates was larger and the required two-thirds confirmed the choice of the clergy. By a distinct vote the election was declared to be with the right of succession. After consecration the Eastern Shore, which now constitutes the Diocese of Easton, was assigned to the suffragan as his field of labor.

The election of Dr. Kemp was not without opposition of the bitterest kind. A protest against his consecration was presented to the House of Bishops, with the signatures of six clergymen and seventeen lay delegates. This being without avail, it was followed by an open schism. The Rev. George Dashiell, rector of a Baltimore congregation, claiming an adherence of at least six clergymen, in the name of pure religion and as a protection for the Church "against the party that has so dishonestly seized the government," attempted to obtain consecration from Bishop Provoost, of New York, whose position was a singular one, and on the death of this prelate, which occurred soon after, without his having given any answer to the petition, Mr. Dashiell, as if demented, presented a like request to the very Bishop of Maryland, asserting, "We will never receive Dr. Kemp as our bishop." He then renounced the Church, set

up as an evangelical bishop, and proceeded to ordain his son, who was a deacon; but before his formal separation he had been presented for immorality, was summoned to trial and was deposed. He was followed in his sin by two others besides his son. Others who had threatened secession either left the diocese or changed their minds. At the first annual election of St. Peter's Church, the schism of this congregation was healed by the election of Rev. Mr. Henshaw. In 1819 a clerical member of the diocese announced that he had become a member of the "Evangelical Episcopal Church of Maryland," and was accordingly deposed.* After this date the records of the diocese contain no allusion to this unhappy episode in its history. One congregation of the "Evangelical Church" was formed in Baltimore. They built a house of worship, and for their use Mr. Dashiell published a book of common prayer, with articles of religion and a collection of hymns, but in a short time this congregation disintegrated. Their rector went first to Genesee and then to the western part of New York, where he died, having always maintained his claims.

Mr. Dashiell had been a prominent man, holding positions of honor in the diocese. At the time of his schism he was a representative man, but it would be unfair to connect the odium of his acts with the reputation of those who once sympathized with him. It must have been a grievance to them that the name Evangelical had been assumed by schismatics and as their ground for schism. The tone of the body of the clergy may be considered as indicated by an incident which occurred in 1813. In that year some one introduced in Convention a resolution looking to a change of legislation so as to authorize the admitting to our pulpits "clergymen of other denominations." This had been tabled in a previous Convention; it was now rejected by the unanimous vote of the clergy and by a majority of the laity.

* This man, being then a lay communicant, heard Bishop Whittingham preach and rejoiced in the evangelical tone of the sermon.

The deposition of Mr. Dashiell was the last reported act of Bishop Claggett. At that time he believed that his end was near, and "under this anticipation," said Bishop Kemp, "he enjoyed great serenity and composure of mind." Before the meeting of another Convention he had closed an honored and useful life.

Bishop Kemp issued a circular announcing that the charge of the Church had devolved on him through the demise of the late bishop of the diocese. To make assurance doubly sure, the Convention declared that no action on their part was required by the circumstances. Although Bishop Claggett and his suffragan were fully of accord, it is very probable that Bishop Kemp was likely to excite a prejudice from which his chief escaped. Kemp was a Scotchman, educated a Presbyterian, and had made his first acquaintance with Episcopal claims after coming to this country. Being a convert it is natural that he should have insisted more on such points of difference as exist between those whom he had left and those whom he had joined, and which some in the Church were disposed to put out of sight as marring their view of the bond of union which exists between all who receive a common Bible and believe in a common Saviour. Besides, he was at the time of his election assistant minister and was afterward rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, the centre and support of all in the diocese that was offensive to evangelicals. What were these offensive things? In after years the leading evangelical paper in the country referred to the good days of Dr. Wyatt's rectorship (he had been Bishop Kemp's assistant) as though the custom of St. Paul's were the standard of all edifying order and teaching. What a deal of ill feeling has been thrown away! One of the observances of St. Paul's was the use of all enjoined in the Prayer-Book, and of no addition to the prescribed forms. To omit the ante communion service was almost a mark of being an evangelical, while additions must have been sometimes made, else

Bishop Kemp in his address spoke without a purpose when referring to the use of extemporaneous prayers, which have "these evident disadvantages, that they will be too apt to savor of the folly, the vanity, or the spiritual pride of the individual." To this expression of opinion he adds: "No construction can be put upon the ordination vow but that to conform to the worship of our Church means to use our liturgy." In these respects too times have changed. There are now those who consider themselves to be the only true sons of the Church who express scorn for a *Missa Sicca*, and who claim the freedom of prayer—*i.e.*, that they shall not be bound to confine themselves to the Prayer-Book.

Bishop Kemp was a more active man than the first bishop could be. It can hardly be doubted that he would have been still more efficient had his obligations to his diocese been felt to be primary. In one of his addresses he says: "I am rector of St. Paul's in Baltimore, from which I derive my living, and that of course is entitled to all my services." As it was, there was an increase of prosperity in the Church—whether commensurate with that of the country may be doubted. There was also an increase of party spirit—party lines were more definitely drawn.

One matter of great interest in which this was shown was the education of the future clergy. In 1822, after the bishop in his address had announced the happy establishment of the General Theological Seminary, in which he took great interest, the Convention decided that there should be in Maryland a local seminary, and took steps to collect money and to found it. But at the next Convention all preceding action on this subject was rescinded, and resolutions passed making it impossible to bring it again suddenly before the Convention. The Committee on the State of the Church referred to this decision as having settled a question which for some time had threatened the peace of the Church.

The matter was not revived because the founding of the Alexandria school met the wishes of all interested in a local seminary.

The bishop evidently throughout his whole course labored to suppress undue party feeling. In 1818 he warned the clergy that it was "impossible for clergymen to manifest their zeal in a more ruinous way than to assume party names and party distinctions. We are all ministers of Christ. We all belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church." At the close of the Convention of 1825 he felt constrained to express his "great satisfaction in seeing how the desire to lay aside party feelings and party distinctions had produced a degree of unanimity not often seen exceeded in the meetings of the body." His very joy is a token of the existence of cause for fears. With great warmth he urged perseverance with one heart and one faith in the endeavor to advance the prosperity of the Church.

In October, 1827, this excellent bishop was cut off suddenly in the midst of his usefulness. By the overturning of a stage coach near Frenchtown he was mortally wounded.* He was conveyed to his home in Baltimore; he survived two days in great and continuous pain, but with a clear mind. His death was worthy of his life.

When Bishop Kemp succeeded Bishop Claggett there were twenty-eight clergymen. Forty-five attended the first Convention after his death, and the whole number was fifty-three. The greater number of these, to use their own term, were evangelical. They had not been in full harmony with their late bishop, who, with all courtesy, condemned the omission of any part of the appointed service as "an irregularity which the Church cannot for any length of time wink at;" and in his diocesan address taught that "a praiseworthy disposition to union among all Christians

* As showing how far party spirit may carry men, it may be noted that this death was said by some to be a mark of God's displeasure against the consecration of Bishop Onderdonk, from which Bishop Kemp was returning.

should not operate in blending truth and error—not in confounding divine and human means—not in amalgamating the Church of Christ with self-created societies;" being assured that "we shall not draw strangers to the sacred edifice which God has erected upon his holy hill by defacing its beauty or lessening its strength." In 1824 this majority had endeavored to take the nominating of the committees out of the bishop's hands, and were defeated by the help of the laity. Now, in 1828, they came together with the hope that they would be enabled to gain the control of the diocese so far as depends on the choosing of its bishop. Dr. John Johns, afterwards Bishop of Virginia, whom they hoped to elect, was not only a representative man, but personally attractive; the affection felt for him was strong. Had it not been for the rule to which Maryland has always clung, which demands a two-thirds majority, he would have been chosen by the clerical order; whether he would have been elected is not certain, for Dr. Wyatt, his opponent, who had succeeded Bishop Kemp as rector of St. Paul's, was, on a joint ballot, made President of the Convention, to whom during a vacancy some of the duties of a bishop are entrusted. After three ballotings with the change of but one vote, the election was postponed to the next annual Convention.

In 1829 the marshalled forces again came together, when, although there had been some changes in the clerical list, the vote for bishop stood precisely what it had been the year before—24 for Dr. Johns, 18 for Dr. Wyatt; and the election was again postponed.

In 1830 the Rev. William Murray Stone was chosen by the unanimous vote of both orders, his election having been recommended by a committee appointed "to confer together in a spirit of Christian conciliation." Mr. Stone had been chairman of this committee—so little had this choice been looked for. Before action he was requested to withdraw, and another was chosen in his place. The next morning

the Convention opened with a solemn service of thanksgiving prepared by the President, Dr. Wyatt.

Again nothing was said about salary. At the time of his election Mr. Stone had charge of a parish, but the Convention having "deemed it a vital concern that a fund adequate to the comfortable support of its bishop should be raised in order to enable him to devote himself exclusively to the duties of his high and sacred office," so soon as the term of his engagement ended he resigned his cure and returned to his home in Salisbury, Somerset County, in or near which place he was born, and where he lived all his days excepting the one year that he was rector in Chestertown. For his support he took what was given him; the sums collected in the diocese varying from $386 in 1831 to $1,040 in 1838.

Bishop Stone may not have been remarkable for his intellectual attainments, but he was for his goodness and for the respect which this inspired. Feeble in body, he was efficient as a diocesan because of his sense of responsibility. He did not confine himself to regular visitations, but felt it to be his duty to labor in the missionary field, preaching at times to persons who had never before heard an Episcopal minister. His position as a churchman was not that which might be naturally attributed to him from consideration of the circumstances of his election. We find him insisting on positive Church teaching, through lack of which

> we lose members who fail to discriminate between the Church, the body of Christ, and those religious associations which men find it their interest and pleasure to join, and in their ignorance consider it a matter of no consequence where or with whom they commune. . . . How many there are, both in and out of the Church, who do not know that she, in correspondence with the sacred volume, considers three orders in her ministry essential to its perfect organization.

Nothing could be more definite than his assertion:

> In instituting His Church the Almighty has concentrated there all the means of renewing, sanctifying, reconciling, glorifying our

nature. To His Church pertain the adoption, and the covenant, and the promises. Not a promise can be found under the Gospel—through Christ—but to the Church.

He had been arguing from analogy that as in the natural world, so also in the spiritual, God uses "means and instruments for our safety and support." In his last pastoral letter, insisting on the duty of making known "the peculiar claims of our Church," he wrote:

Do you not know that for fifteen hundred years the claims of an apostolic ministry to divine right were never disputed? and can you see no difference between her and the different sectaries that have sprung up within the last three hundred years? As churchmen it is your duty to learn what is and what is not the Church. Scorn the weak and wicked impulse to regard slightly the institutions of Christ for the sake of being esteemed liberal.

In February, 1838, Bishop Stone was called to his rest. There had been peace all the days of his episcopate and an increase of prosperity, so that in his address, which was found prepared and was read in Convention, he was enabled to say, "At no period within my recollection have the parishes been better supplied with ministers than at the present." But yet when the Convention met it was as though each party had used the truce in getting ready for the renewal of contest. As had been the case eight years before, Drs. Johns and Wyatt were the first choice of the two sections, and they were accordingly nominated. When this was done the two gentlemen forced to be rivals, in an address admirable in its expression of a commendable spirit, begged to be allowed to withdraw their names and to offer that of another whom they united in commending, Dr. Alonzo Potter, afterward Bishop of Pennsylvania. This effort for unity was fruitless. The Evangelical clergy, who numbered twenty-six to twenty-two, rejected the suggestion of their leader, and persisted in voting for him or for another of their own choice. At length, on the recommendation of a committee of conference, Drs. Eastburn and Hawks, of

New York, were voted for and the former was elected. He had no insuperable objections to the responsibilities of the crozier, but he was not inclined to be the Bishop of Maryland. Dr. Eastburn having declined, a special Convention met in August. After a number of ballotings for Drs. Johns and Wyatt, a committee proposed four names, to be taken up in order. The second of these was that of the Rev. Dr. Whittingham, who had been privately brought to the notice of the leaders by the assistant of St. Paul's, Rev. Orlando Hutton, whose teacher Dr. Whittingham had been, and who had brought from the Seminary the warm personal attachment and the admiration felt by the body of his fellow-students. Drs. Wyatt and Johns joined in nominating Bishop Kemper, whose name stood first on the list, and on the first ballot he was elected. But Dr. Kemper, being already bishop, was content to abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Full of labors—the dray-horse of the Church, as he was once heard to call himself—he preferred the hard work of the Northwestern Mission to the easier life of a bishop of even a divided eastern diocese.

Maryland was forced to begin anew her contest. At the annual Convention in 1839, after passing through a struggle like to that witnessed in every meeting since the loss of Bishop Stone, the friends of Drs. Johns and Wyatt were forced to unite in the election of Dr. Dorr, of Philadelphia. He, too, declined the burdensome honor offered him. "I can see," he said, "no reasons for accepting the appointment so strong as those which require me to remain in my present position." A special Convention was again called, which met in November, when two days were spent in balloting eighteen times and in efforts to adjourn. The parties stood as before as regards numbers and purpose. It mattered little whose name was proposed, he was the mere exponent of the opposite party. The only result was that Dr. Whittingham, who had been twelve times voted for, was brought prominently before the diocese, and the Evangel-

icals were led to inquire into the position and reputation of the man whom their opponents would have been glad to elect. Charges touching theological opinions had been brought against him during the meeting. Soon after the adjournment, a prominent clergyman, who had himself been nominated for the episcopate, wrote to Dr. Whittingham: "We entertained sanguine hopes of your election. We soon discovered, however, that a pretended objection had been secretly circulated. . . . It was asserted that you were suspected of being a zealous advocate and circulator of the Oxford tracts." Therefore—not for his own satisfaction, for he would be very glad to have such a man as Dr. Pusey for bishop—he begs that the doctor will enable him to contradict the assertion.

"From a conversation with Bishop Doane," he writes, "I gathered that you consider the statements and phraseology of the tracts sometimes exceptionable, while you approve their general tendency, and I mentioned this circumstance to the Convention. . . . Do not, my dear sir, refuse to furnish us with the means of securing you for our bishop."

What answer was made by Dr. Whittingham to this correspondent, with whom he was but slightly acquainted, can only be conjectured. He certainly was not desirous to smooth away obstacles to his election. The knowledge that there was a possibility of his being made bishop was a pain to him. Filling the position which from his youth had been before him whenever he allowed himself to form a wish as to his future, he had reached the goal of his desires, and in the discharge of his daily duties as a teacher of the future clergy, useful and honored, he was as happy as a continual painful sense of unfitness would permit. Any change would have been unwelcome save, perhaps, that which might have secured to him a parochial charge so small as not to interfere with Seminary duties. As regards elevation to a bishopric—if ever a man could conscientiously say *Nolo episcopari* it was he. So far from wishing to quiet objec-

tions to his Church views, he gladly listened to the requests of friends, and wrote to the editors of *The Episcopal Recorder* letters the aim of which was to show how little reliance can be placed on the quotations made by Isaac Taylor in his "Antient Christianity," a book a while before republished in Philadelphia, and much vaunted as having been never answered and as "overturning the unfounded claims which are made for the authority of the Fathers."

Conscience would not have allowed him to take any course with the deliberate purpose of hindering his election. This would have been to attempt to turn aside the Divine will; for he considered an election by a diocesan body rightly represented to be an intimation of God's will, and not to submit to this intimation to be an assumption of fearful responsibility. Yet he hoped that those who objected to him would be confirmed in their opposition by the expression of his judgment. The articles were, of course, read by all the clergy who had feared his proclivities, for *The Recorder* was their organ, but they were not what he had trusted they might be, "in God's good providence the means of procuring my release from the dreadful charge."

When the Convention met in May, 1840, the duty of recommending some duly qualified person to be chosen as bishop was intrusted to a committee of clergy and laymen, who reported:

> The committee of conference, after a free and friendly interchange of opinions upon the important subject intrusted to them, and after full inquiry in relation to the views and opinions of the Rev. William R. Whittingham, D.D., believe that the peace and prosperity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland would be promoted by his appointment to the episcopate of this diocese, and do therefore unanimously recommend his name to the favorable consideration of this Convention. J. P. K. Henshaw, *Chairman.*

This recommendation was accompanied by a speech from Dr. Henshaw representing that Dr. Whittingham did not

hold those views the suspicion of which occasioned the objection at the special Convention, when he had been charged with holding—what a then opponent at a later day accused him of—"Not Romanism out and out, but Romanism disguised, *alias* Tractarianism," and that all might now safely unite in his election. After this speech a motion was made to postpone the election until the afternoon; but Dr. Johns opposed the proposal, expressing himself entirely satisfied with the report of the committee, and moved that the Convention proceed immediately to the election. Dr. Johns, some years after, wrote to a friend: "Dr. Whittingham received nearly every vote. I recollect but two of the clerical dissentients, —— and ——, who furnished some amusement by its being understood that they were dissatisfied at its being made so apparent that Dr. Whittingham did not favor those views the suspicion of which had made him objectionable to us." Upon whatever grounds the committee may have based the conviction which, when presented to his party by a Low Churchman, had thus brought about an election without opposition, Dr. Whittingham did not furnish them, nor did any man authorized to speak for him. This was well understood at the time, but a few years later rumors spread by discontent took a positive shape, and the definite charge was made that the bishop had obtained his office by false pretences, and that at the time of his election he had given pledges which he had violated. He therefore obtained the testimony of various persons cognizant of all the facts. Inasmuch as he suffered himself to be troubled by such a charge, reference is here made to it; and an all-sufficient refutation is given in the words of his successor, who was a member of the committee whose recommendation insured his election.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1845.

DEAR BISHOP:

In compliance with your request I forward forthwith the following statement of my recollections of what transpired in the meeting of

the committee by whom you were nominated to the Convention of the Diocese of Maryland. Great anxiety was manifested by some to find out your theological views, and an effort was made to ascertain them. But it was distinctly stated by our mutual friend, Dr. McElhiney, that you had refused to interchange a thought with him on the subject. No pledges were made by you, or authorized to be made in your name by others. It is certain that no one appeared before us who claimed to be thus authorized; on the contrary, so strongly was Dr. McElhiney impressed by your stern and inflexible refusal to converse with him on theology that, with a good-humored smile, he said you scarcely treated him with the courtesy due to a gentleman, or words to that effect.

Some of the committee made anxious inquiries respecting your views, consulted witnesses, and thus endeavored to satisfy themselves. But the only witnesses who appeared before us were Whateley's "Paul," edited by yourself some years ago, and individual impressions of what you believed, never submitted to your inspection or acknowledged by you to be true exponents of your views. I regarded your election to the episcopate of Maryland as an honest, *bona fide* transaction, unconditional and free, and I feel as unwilling to believe that the committee charged with the high and awful duty of making a nomination could have been induced by any consideration to accept of a pledge given with a view to the office, as that you could be capable of giving it. Either supposition is, in the face of the facts, unwarranted and untrue. We did individually (as we were in duty bound) endeavor to satisfy ourselves as to your soundness in the faith and fitness for the office, but we did it in a way that could not compromise our own honor or violate your sense of propriety. I have written thus fully because I wish to state the truth and the whole truth to the best of my recollection, which on the subject of this communication is peculiarly vivid and distinct.

Your friend and brother,

WILLIAM PINKNEY.

Rt. Rev. WM. R. WHITTINGHAM.

The Evangelicals gave as their reason for accepting Dr. Whittingham their conviction that they had done him injustice in supposing him to be tainted with the Tractarian heresy. But when will party spirit judge generously? The balloting at the last meeting had shown that Dr. Whittingham was decidedly the choice of the majority. All were

tired of the contest, and all knew well that the majority had the power to change the two-thirds rule in one year and to carry out their wishes despite of opposition. Therefore some of those who had now triumphed declared that there had been no change of judgment respecting the now elected candidate, but simply a graceful acceptance of what was seen to be inevitable. One, writing to the doctor on the day of his election, says:

> The accusation preferred in November was a mere pretext, and the abandonment of it at present on the ground of satisfactory exculpatory testimony was no better. They never had any other objection to you than your supposed High Church principles, and they agreed to support you for the episcopate because they had much to lose and nothing to gain by obstinacy. They have, however, yielded gracefully, and they will receive you as their diocesan with kindness and respect. . . . God has been very propitious to his Church in this matter. If ever there was a clear call of Providence to assume the office of bishop you have received it this day.

The election took place on May 28th, the second day of the session. On the 29th Dr. Wyatt and Dr. Johns, who three times before had been appointed a committee to inform another that he had been elected to an office to which, as their friends thought, they were entitled, wrote to Dr. Whittingham, in the name of the Diocese of Maryland, to communicate to him "the transaction which inspires our ecclesiastical body with grateful rejoicing." To this letter he answered:

> GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
> NEW YORK, June 1, 1840.
>
> REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN:
>
> Your letter of May 29th, officially communicating the doing of the late Convention of Maryland, has just come to hand. The pain which it would otherwise have given me had been lessened by previous unofficial information and consequent preparation for the formal announcement.
>
> I believe that God is with his Church in all its doings, and therefore *dare* make no other reply than an acceptance of the appointment

to the vacant bishopric of your diocese. My own judgment is entirely at variance with this decision in all points, but I do not presume to look to it in such a matter. Our Lord and Master, who permitted you to unite in the selection of one so unworthy, is able to make the most unworthy sufficient for his work, and *I will trust him, and you in him*, in a matter the most momentous, as I verily believe, in which mortal man can be called upon to come to a decision. When experience shall have made you more acquainted with my failings, you will remember that you act against my desire most earnestly expressed to those who afforded me the opportunity, and will bear with me, and strengthen my weakness, and share my work. I have no hope before me but in the undeserved mercies of God through Christ and in your forbearance and long-suffering love.

For these mercies I entreat you to pray, and procure for me the prayers of those in whose name you act.

Your faithful friend and servant, for Christ's sake,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

To the Revs. WILLIAM E. WYATT and JOHN JOHNS, *Committee.**

In his diary Dr. Whittingham wrote:

Saturday, May 30th.—Rose at 6. Finch to breakfast; f. pp. With him down town. Met Mr. Jones in Chatham Street, who informed me that I had been almost unanimously elected Bishop of Maryland. The shock was great, for all that I had heard for ten or twelve days past made me feel assured that there would be no election at this Convention, and I had resolved, immediately on hearing that, to decline allowing my name to be further used, considering two successive failures a sufficient providential intimation that I was not called on to make the sacrifice. Bp. D. told H. on Wednesday that it was extremely improbable that there would be a choice, that the constitution must be altered before they could get one. Home immediately; pp.; conversed with H. with many tears on both sides. So with Aunt E. R. Letter from Drs. Wyatt and announcing informally my election and its circumstances. I have great reason for thankfulness that the thing has been done kindly and in good feeling. God, I do trust, will bring grace and mercy out of the past dis-

* In the journal of the Convention for 1840 may be found the copy of a letter addressed by the same committee to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doane, who was at the time of the election provisional bishop of the diocese.

cord, and to me impart the strength and prudence, and guilelessness, and zeal, and above all, humble, earnest *faith* that I so much need. Amen.

What could not be escaped had been embraced. Pleasure-giving letters were received in numbers; congratulations from friends who appreciated the honor bestowed mingled with the expression of regrets from those who felt most the loss the Seminary must sustain, when there occurred what for a while made the future wholly uncertain. In *The Recorder* appeared a letter from Maryland asserting that the almost unanimous vote for the bishop-elect was due to statements of his views on five points, concerning which the bishop himself writes: "Three of which are untrue and a fourth not accurate." This published letter gave great disturbance; if it expressed the motives of the body without whose votes he could not have been elected, then he must withdraw the acceptance he had given. Simple honesty required that he should do so. He must know the facts at once, and it seemed to him that the most open course was to have a conference and an explanation with the leaders of the party for whom the writer of the letter had spoken. Having first written a letter of contradiction to be published in *The Recorder*, he set out for Baltimore. On the way more than one friend was seen to whom the object of his journey was explained. Thus Bishop Doane heard of it, and his fears for the result were so excited that his first impulse was to follow him, but perceiving how this might provoke remark and excite suspicions, he instead despatched a presbyter with a written entreaty, "invoking all sacred sanctions," and in terms which one might use in pleading for the dearest object in life, beseeching him to "withhold from any conversation which can by any one be taken as declaratory of his views or policy."

Dr. Whittingham reached Baltimore in the night. Early on Sunday morning he called on Dr. Wyatt, stated the cause of his unlooked-for visit, and asked him to write to Drs.

Henshaw and Johns, informing them of his arrival and requesting them to call in the afternoon. Before the conference Bishop Doane's messenger arrived. Under no circumstances would his letter have changed the decision of Dr. Whittingham, whom simplicity and directness of purpose governed at all times—sometimes to his loss, for an overweening trust in men not unfrequently betrayed his estimate of character which he yet supposed he possessed in a marked degree. In this case it may not be doubted that frankness met his confidence. In Dr. Wyatt's study, and in his presence, an interview was had with the two doctors who were the acknowledged leaders of the party who had been misled, if the letter-writer was to be believed. The record of this interview is in these words:

Stated that I had come on in anxiety and pain caused by the letter published in *The Recorder*. They both interrupted me with assurances that that letter had no claim to regard, and wholly disavowed it. At this I stated my gratification, but desired a still further explanation to prevent any future difficulties. 1. I assured them that any statements, explanations, etc., that might have been made at the late Convention were wholly unauthorized by me. This they declared they understood. I explained the nature of the correspondence and of the conversation with ——, Dr. Wyatt corroborating my account. 2. I desired to have it understood that my election and acceptance of it were wholly independent of any statements, explanations, pledges, or conditions. To this they assented. 3. I then said that although I could not consent to enter into any explanation of my views, yet I would say frankly that I believed they would not be dissatisfied with them if fairly known, but must beg them to understand that I did not recognize the statements in the letter of *The Recorder*, which were not expressions of my views. They declared themselves satisfied with this. We shook hands, and they desired that nothing more might ever be said in the way of explanation. The utmost frankness and cordiality characterized the manner of both. We sat and chatted an hour or more on the state of religion in this city and in the diocese generally.

This account of an interview on the result of which depended his acceptance of the bishopric was written by Dr.

Whittingham, as it seems, before he slept. It is but fair to give also the recollections of Dr. Johns, stated by himself five years later—for the fears of Bishop Doane, to be inferred from his letter, were to some extent subsequently realized. After asserting that he had never said to any one that Dr. Whittingham had given a pledge, he writes:

> When after all this [what had occurred at the Convention] Dr. Whittingham expressed himself, as he voluntarily did in Dr. Wyatt's study, and—against my repeated declaration of my unwillingness at that time to converse with him on the subject of his views—persisted, and stated that although on three points out of five the writer in *The Recorder* had not represented his views to his satisfaction, yet if we knew what they were they would be more agreeable to us than as represented to the Convention, how were we to regard such language but as rendering assurance doubly sure as to his freedom from the taint of Tractarianism, and his accordance with us in what we considered evangelical truth? Such was the impression on my mind that I instantly exclaimed, "Then come on, and we will give you our united support;" to which he responded, rising from his seat and giving me his hand, "Then in the name and by the help of God I will come." . . . Disavowing the article in *The Recorder* I do not remember. It may have been so, for so far as I was concerned I knew no more of that article than Dr. Whittingham himself.

Dr. Johns did not recollect that the bishop-elect had said on that occasion that if the Convention had elected him to the episcopate supposing him to hold the views stated in the article in *The Recorder*, he would be obliged to withdraw his acceptance. But the very purpose of the visit to Baltimore was to say this, and therefore Bishop Doane sent a special messenger to prevent, if possible, any interview.

At night Dr. Whittingham preached in St. Peter's, Dr. Henshaw's church, as he had done in the afternoon in St. Paul's. The next morning he returned to the Seminary. On the way he endeavored to see Bishop Doane as requested, but it was of less importance that he failed in his effort, inasmuch as in the main the wishes of his anxious friend were secured. Thus was removed the only hindrance to the conse-

cration that offered itself; although even after the day had been appointed there was a possibility of the need of postponement through the delay of the bishops in sending in their consent, not through their withholding consent.

On Thursday, September 17, 1840, in St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, which was thronged as never before or since, Dr. Whittingham was consecrated by the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Griswold; Bishops Moore, H. U. Onderdonk, and Doane joining in the laying on of hands. A large proportion of the clergy of the diocese by their presence testified their thankfulness.

In the early morning the elected bishop wrote:

> The eventful day has arrived! O merciful God, make it the auspicious beginning of a holy, humble, happy course of service in thy sanctuary. Fit me for my work and prosper thou it. Make me sufficient, as thou only canst, for the awful responsibilities I am about to assume. O gracious Bishop and Shepherd of souls, hear me, for thy mercy's sake!

And at night:

> Bishop Griswold preached a plain, sound, valuable sermon on Acts vi. 4, particularly on the duty of a bishop to be a preacher. Thank God! I got through the solemnities, but they greatly affected me, as well they might. It is for ever and ever!

Thus ended the long party contest in Maryland so far as the choice of a bishop was concerned. The result was generally hailed as a happy one. The beginning of the new episcopate seemed to be, in accordance with the bishop's prayer, auspicious. All had shown a readiness to receive in a proper spirit their appointed head. Dr. Henshaw, who continued to be a firm friend of Bishop Whittingham, and who had an acknowledged right to speak in the name of his party, after the election wrote:

> Rev. and Dear Sir:
>
> Your favor, received this morning, brought to my heart relief and joy, because it assured me of your acceptance of the high

station to which you have been called in the providence and grace of God, the duties of which I feel persuaded you will so discharge as to prove the honored instrument of restoring peace and prosperity to our long-distracted diocese. . . . In relation to the divine origin of the ministry, the constitution of the Church, and all the great doctrines of redemption and grace there is no difference, so far as I am informed, between your sentiments and mine; and in reference to matters of policy as to the adoption of means calculated to promote the spiritual edification of the Church, I frankly declare that I have no fear of the influence of a man animated by the Spirit, and cherishing the views manifested in your missionary speech published in the last *Recorder*. The peculiar circumstances under which I have been placed must be my apology for saying to you what I have said to others concerning you. You are, as I believe, the very man for us; and I hail it as a token of God's favor to Zion that he has turned our hearts to you and your heart to us in the present exigency. Coming to us without having borne any part in our party strifes, you will, by God's blessing, make us a united household. . . . I ought, perhaps, to apologize for saying so much, but I shall have said too little if I fail to convince you that you will be welcomed to your episcopate by the confidence and felicitation of many who now daily offer their prayers to God on your behalf, and by none more cordially than,

Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother in Christ,

J. P. K. Henshaw.

The Rev. Dr. Whittingham.

But for all that the day seemed so fair and bright, there might have been seen arising "a little cloud out of the sea." Men of differing minds were not brought into concord by the mere fact that the strife to elect was ended. No one man could have represented both parties. When his actions showed that Bishop Whittingham did not, then he suffered from unjust judgment, the more because of a temporary illusion which common sense should have prevented, for it was evident that he could not as an honest man be both what his past life testified and what was now trusted in. The charge of Tractarianism had been brought against him in Convention, and had been put aside. But the charge was

a very indefinite one. Speaking truly and with honest purpose, different things may have been meant by those who on one side and the other used the term. Whether Tractarian or not, the position of Dr. Whittingham was well known to all who cared to know. Before he was of an age to be ordained he had been made prominent. He had always been associated with Bishop Hobart, and if approved for his zeal, as shown by the words of Dr. Henshaw just quoted, he was known to be a High Churchman of the Hobart stamp. It may have been natural for partizans who had been disappointed in their hopes to think that they had been deceived, but it is a truth that all that in future years was attributed to him as Tractarianism had been always openly held by him. As a deacon he believed in and yielded what as a bishop he asserted; and this was the front of his offending. That is, he believed, what he had long before asserted in print, that a bishop is the chief pastor in his diocese. This was not the theory of many in the Diocese of Maryland, and there could not but be revived the dissension which seemed to have been put aside, and which made the mitre to be to Whittingham a crown of thorns.

On page 199 it is said that in preparing the Act Concerning Religion Calvert was aided by the counsel of the Provincial of the Jesuits, who was a grandson of Chancellor More. This fact was learned in conversation with Bradley T. Johnson, Esq., of the Baltimore bar. The statement was added to what was then about to be sent to the printer. My brief sketch of the province might have been further illustrated from the results of General Johnson's researches, but unfortunately his able treatise on the "Foundation of Maryland," prepared for the Maryland Historical Society, came into my hands too late. My chapter was already in print. It is a satisfaction that my estimate of the first Lords Proprietary has been maintained by proof not within my reach.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST YEARS IN MARYLAND.

1840–1841.

Bishop Whittingham's first act—on the very day of his consecration—was to write to the most distant member of his diocese, the Rev. Dr. Robertson, who was then in Constantinople, having been sent as missionary to the Eastern churches to help to revive among them the influence of their own standards, to make known the position of our own Church, and to promote, what must come in God's good time, the reunion of now separated East and West.

On the following Sunday he admitted to priest's orders the Rev. James A. Buck, and at the request of the Bishop of New York, ordained deacon the present Bishop of North Carolina, Dr. Lyman, who while a student at the Seminary had been a member of his family.

Following the ancient custom the bishop promptly gave formal notice of his admission to their order to all his right reverend brethren. Among the few who answered, the Bishop of Ohio wrote a very warm and friendly letter. The two men, alike in zeal and determination, were widely separated in opinion, and many were the contests between them. It gives pleasure to be able to say that as Bishop McIlvaine kindly welcomed his younger brother, so when he was near his end he expressed high admiration for the Bishop of Maryland, confidence in him, and regret that he had not always done him justice.

After a few days spent in responding to the kind atten-

tions of many with whom he had been brought into such close relations, the bishop went back to Orange to prepare for removal to Maryland, and to New York to attend the opening of the Seminary, with which he was still connected, his resignation not taking effect before November 1st. Time was found for making more easy the new duties of his successor, Dr. Ogilby, by imparting in detail his method of instruction.

His visitations in his diocese began unexpectedly. He had gone to Wilmington, Delaware, to preach on the occasion of the consecration of a church on October 15th, when he received a letter informing him that arrangements had been made for the consecration of a church on the following Monday, at Georgetown Cross Roads, in Kent County. This unintended service may have prevented his return to New York. The consecration of this church is remarkable as being the first of not a few like to it: it was rebuilt by a revived congregation. Dr. Henshaw had written to the elected bishop:

> You will come to a diocese possessed of ample resources and capabilities, but they are inert; they have never been called forth, from the want of proper episcopal supervision. You could not desire a better field or better instruments to give full employment to your intellectual energies and Christian zeal. We need in our bishop a skilful head to devise plans of usefulness, a strong hand to combine our efforts, and a warm heart to stimulate to every good word and work. The labors of such a man will not be in vain in the Lord.

If Bishop Whittingham proved to be such a one as is here pictured as needed, it is equally true that his people were not wholly unprepared to respond to his efforts in their behalf. After Bishop Whittingham's death a clergyman who, having voted for him, survived him, having been all this while one of his presbyters, speaking of the marked success that crowned the early days of his episcopate, said, with a glow of enthusiasm, "His course through the diocese could be

traced by the revival of decayed parishes." But yet, as the bishop himself gladly recognized, the people were ready, and not all waiting to be called on, as is shown by this first consecration of a parish church. Shrewsbury was one of the original parishes into which the province was divided in 1692. It had grown weak and the church had decayed. When through the zeal of a few the church had been rebuilt, the vestry feared that it could not be filled, that the pews would not be taken; but the result proved that the church might well have been made larger—nearly half as many more pews could have been disposed of.* "On the day of sale all were sold, and there were applications for ten more." The bishop makes no remark on recording this fact, but goes on to say:

> The vestry thought of selling the dilapidated walls of an old chapel, ten miles distant, to help defray the expense of the new church. They put up an advertisement calling a meeting to deliberate on the propriety of so doing. The whole neighborhood was up in arms, so literally that one man threatened to take his stand on the walls with his musket and shoot the first person who should attempt to pull them down. This feeling encouraged the vestry to propose rebuilding. This was eagerly acceded to, and is now going on.

This first parochial visitation must have been taken by the bishop as an earnest of the future, and have strengthened hopes already vaguely formed with regard to the only

* Those who rightly claim that the poor and the rich are alike entitled to a seat in the house of their common Father now denounce as sacrilegious the renting, and still more the selling of pews; but in those days pew-renting was the mode of maintaining public worship recommended by bishops and conventions, the scheme of subscription papers, to which vestries first resorted after disestablishment, having utterly failed in many instances. In fact, legal steps had followed diocesan advice, in order to obtain the right to lay a pew-tax. When a poll-tax supported the Church, churches were nominally free; yet pews were self-appropriated here as in England; families supposed that they had obtained a prescriptive right, an exclusive right to pews. This sense of the right of possession continued under changed circumstances, in some cases even with families who had abandoned the Church. This claim had to be tested by law. Notwithstanding the general adoption of the much-recommended pew-taxing, there are parts of Maryland where it has never set aside the subscription paper.

part of his diocese with which he was as yet acquainted. When he first visited Baltimore he had learned that, despite the great increase of population, the number of congregations in the city was precisely what it had been thirty years before. One had been not very long organized, but another had been scattered after years of struggling with debt, and their church was then in the hands of the sheriff. A few days after the consecration in Shrewsbury Parish we find him in Baltimore, going alone to "poor dilapidated Trinity Church," and there praying fervently "that the Lord would be pleased again to visit and reclaim his temple." It was then filthy as a stable, having been occupied by goats. So soon as he could the bishop engaged Mrs. Whittingham to superintend the cleansing of what had been given to God, and formed plans for the purchase of the building and the retaining it under his own control; but these failed, and the church was sold under the hammer to a congregation of Lutherans. This was his first grief and disappointment as bishop, but to this he was reconciled when he learned that the gift to God was the proceeds of a lottery. Perhaps other of our churches may have been erected by the use of the same means. Certain it is that at an early period in the history of the diocese the Bishop of Maryland, with his Convention, lamented the little success that attended an attempt to get money through a lottery to build a church in Washington. Some questions in morals are settled only by experience. In those days the judgment respecting lotteries generally entertained by the sober-minded was that still held by an influential religious body.

When Bishop Kemper was elected Bishop of Maryland the diocese for the first time felt able to pledge a fixed sum for his support. Of course a like sum, $3,000, was thus secured to Bishop Whittingham. It is not likely that this fact entered into his consideration of the duty of acceptance. It is certain that when later the Convention, in view of the change in the value of money, voted an increase of salary,

he refused to accept it. But yet had there been no definite support he would have been trammelled, as had been Bishop Kemp, and forced to accept a parish which was offered him.

Other places had been suggested as a residence, but the advantages of Baltimore were too evident to allow of much hesitation. A house was rented in the city—a large and convenient one in a quiet quarter. Entrance into the new abode was to him doleful in the extreme. He had made all necessary arrangements for having the house in order to receive his family, but his hopes were at the mercy of the winds and waves. The schooner which bore his furniture came into port only a few hours before the arrival of the household. Only one rainy day intervened between this arrival and the appointed time for the beginning of his first round of visitations. It is probable that to those who knew Bishop Whittingham only as the Bishop of Maryland, nothing could have been more a surprise than to have seen the tokens, shown only to those most intimate, of the exceeding tenderness of the man's heart; the yearning of his affections might to some of a different mold seem the mark of weakness. With a heavy heart—*multis lachrymis*, he writes—he had to leave his dear ones to meet their difficulties as they best could, and half the day passed before he could regain his equanimity; indeed he did not do so until forced to turn his thoughts to his engagements.

This visitation took the bishop to the western part of the diocese, through Frederick and Alleghany Counties as far as Frostburg. The record of it presents nothing of special interest, except, perhaps, it be the relation of an instance of what had in times past been a customary practice among one class of the clergy. During a celebration of the holy eucharist, after the members of the parish had communed, the rector, seeing that a number of others known to him as religious persons waited for an invitation which had not been extended, approached the bishop and asked him to invite all members in good standing in other denominations

to draw nigh and commune. This request the bishop could not comply with. But yet from the altar he called attention to the fact that "the invitations in our service are general to all holding themselves to be possessed of repentance, faith, and charity required in the invitatory formularies of the Church." This statement was deemed equivalent to an invitation, and a number of "other denominations," including a Methodist minister, came forward and received. It may be that the making this statement followed an unexpected request, and was the sudden prompting of a wish to escape misjudgment. It is probable that he never again made so near an approach to the invitation which he would have censured. But it is true that he had no desire to exclude believers in Christ not members of our Church but walking uprightly, who, on their own responsibility, offered themselves for communion, considering the form of invitation as including them. In order to bring out the strong faith of one outside the covenant with Israel, the Lord said to the Syrophenician woman, "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it unto the dogs." The bishop could not begrudge the crumbs that fall from the Master's table to any hungry soul. He did not consider those who are classed as dissenters to be in general voluntary schismatics, but separated because of palliating circumstances: he looked rather on their faith than on their position. When a rector once said to him—

There is in my congregation an earnest Christian woman not of our Church, constant in her attendance on our services, setting great store by the holy communion, but who would yet refuse to be confirmed. I know that you habitually administer to such who chance to be in our midst, but what course must I adopt in this case? The woman never goes to any place of worship but my church—

his answer was:

You cannot count her as a communicant of the Church; our law is plain. But you should not repel her when on her own responsi-

bility she kneels before you. I think we may consider such cases as settled by the long custom of our Church which has become a part of our common law.

Such was the reasoning of the heart of one who in the exercise of his private judgment rejected all baptisms save those given by ministers episcopally ordained. But while thus gently judging respecting those not wilfully separated, his decision was different with regard to such as left the Church. He with authority forbade that holy communion should be even given to a certain person who had been drawn away from the fold through marriage, the so frequent occasion of wilful schism. "In all such cases," he said, "reconciliation must precede communion."

On the bishop's return to Baltimore a day only was given to "dear home." After this brief refreshment he set out on an extended tour through the parishes of the Western Shore, beginning with the lower part of Harford County. The following letters refer to this visitation; in the first preceding events are also spoken of.

WEST RIVER, November 18, 1840.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER:

I have been desiring and endeavoring to get a chance of writing to you ever since my last hurried note, but have been hindered by interruptions such as you, in your quiet, even life, can hardly conceive and I am sure I hope may never realize. . . . Thank God! on my return on Friday last I found them much less uncomfortable than the way in which I had left them a fortnight before had given me reason to fear. As far as their means went they had become settled, and were resuming habits approaching to regularity. The children all well, and less hurt by the irregular habits of the month past than might have been expected. My stay with them was for just twenty-seven hours, in which time I had twenty-two letters to read and answer, a large parcel of proof to correct, and much other business to attend to. Before I left *their* stay with me had been just two days and three nights, spent in such confusion as you may imagine the arrival of goods and family on one and the same day, and a *hard* rain all the next, would necessarily produce. The goods

were actually not all in when I left. Never, except when I sailed for Europe, have I had such a parting. The goodness of God enabled me to shake off my misery in the course of my fifty miles ride to Frederick; and once there, a constant succession of occupation and care effectually hindered its recurrence. I have already travelled a very little less than seven hundred miles within my diocese, consecrated two churches, administered the communion in nine parishes, confirmed in seven (in one twice) and visited eighteen, preaching thirty times—all in thirty days. My health has been excellent until Sunday last, when I had to preach twice, confirm twice [in Havre de Grace and Spesutia churches], administer the communion, and travel fifteen miles in the day, with a *severe* fit of sick headache upon me. I did it all, thank God, and rose the next morning at five, quite well, to travel thirty-six miles on my return to Baltimore, where I arrived as the family were at breakfast. So the question—one about which I have felt some anxiety—is settled that I *can* go through my duties even under sick headache.

Here I had to break off, service time having arrived. This my first appointment on this visitation has been rather inauspiciously broken off by a very severe snow-storm. It was snowing fast when we rose this morning, and at once all prognosticated that there would be no service. Three of my clergy are here from distances of ten, twenty-five, and forty-five miles, and five more were expected to-day. I left Baltimore yesterday at 6 A.M. in the steamboat, and arrived at 11½, after a very unpleasant trip against a cold, raw northeast wind. Had you seen the wharf as we approached it you would have been struck with the contrast it presented to anything seen or known in our part of the country, and would have partly understood how a snow-storm could totally frustrate a bishop's appointment. Around the wharf there were arranged or clustered from forty to fifty horses, picketed in attendance upon riders come to meet the boat or expected in the boat, and half as many private vehicles of all sorts and sizes, but not one public conveyance of any kind. There are none in all this district. But that is not the reason why the people do not come to church. It is the occasion of both. There are no villages, no towns, not even hamlets. All live scattered in single habitations, each in the centre of his own farm, and these farms separated by numerous creeks, inlets, and rivers, and communicating by private roads, which, though well enough in good weather, become almost impassable in bad. Each parish is about ten miles square, so that the largest portion of the people have to come more than three miles to church; and as the

parishes are not often exactly square, it happens that frequently ten, fifteen, and even twenty miles of riding by intricate and bad roads is requisite to reach church in winter. Of course the effect of this is bad, yet I think it is less so than it would be almost anywhere else. All that I have yet seen of the inhabitants of Maryland far, very far, surpasses my expectations. There is more real gentility, with less parade of it, than I have met with anywhere else; and as one token of real gentility, there is an universal deference for religion. I say deference of choice. It expresses just what I mean: rather an habitual recognition of the importance and value of religious truth and character than an actual profession of either. This last, however, is enjoyed to a much larger extent than I should have dared to hope, and where it is there is a boldness and freeness in its avowal, with an amiable unpretending simplicity of profession wholly different from the starched, pattern carded character of so many religionists farther north. The very children here are different from those either farther north and east or farther south. The boys *are boys* until they are of age. Docility and subjection are evident wherever I go —not without exception, of course, but as a general rule. I have been most agreeably disappointed, too, in finding much less gayety and luxury—indeed I might say much more plainness and extreme simplicity of manners than I could have believed possible in combination with so much intelligence, refinement, and wealth. The passengers yesterday, for example, were almost all of them what we should call wealthy men, some of them high in office and many of extensive influence, yet none were dressed in what would be considered genteel style in New York, and some were really shabby. But with much animation and much mirth, constant conversation and often on the exciting topics of politics, there was no vulgarity, no boisterousness, and, with the exception of two or three, no profanity. This was not because there was a clergyman with them. That they did not know. When the boat touched I was inquired for, and nobody knew or would believe that I was on board. I had kept back that I might have an opportunity of observing them unrestrained. Had they known it, even the two or three who used oaths would have most scrupulously refrained. So at least I am told. So much for Maryland manners. I am encouraged, so far, by my actual experience of my work. I do hope, with the blessing of God, for a fair measure of success, though I feel every day more and more my many sad deficiencies. Love again and again to all.

Your ever affectionate

WILLIAM.

MOUTH OF THE ST. MARY'S, WILLIAM AND MARY PARISH,
November 24, 1840.

DEAREST HANNAH:

I avail myself of the very first leisure moment I have had in a situation where I could write, to tell you how I get along. Of the weather I have had, I suppose you have been enabled to judge by having the same—worse it could not well have been. The passage in the steamboat was unpleasant enough. A small, dirty, crowded boat, filled—deck, cabin, and all—with all sorts of goods and chattels, making slow way in the teeth of a raw north-easter, was no very delectable mode of conveyance. The passage was sixty miles. At the landing I saw at once that I was entering a country different from any I had ever been in on this side of the Atlantic. A large house—the tavern—with a quantity of outbuildings, stood alone at the end of a long wharf, and around it were clustered say a dozen carriages, coaches, gigs, etc., and fifty or sixty horses, with twenty or thirty black servants. Many of the horses had been brought for persons, both ladies and gentlemen, expected by the boat; and within a quarter of an hour they were trotting and galloping in every direction. A short, thick-set man in a blue coat, black stock, and brown surtout, came on board among others and busied himself in making inquiries for "the bishop." All assured him they had seen nothing that looked like a bishop on board, and that he could not have come on. At last the captain recollected that there was one stranger that nobody knew, and thought it just possible he might be the person sought. Accordingly I, who had been lying perdu meanwhile, not bound to betray myself or to claim the honors which no one seemed disposed to think due to such a plain, long fellow in a gray surtout, was hunted up, and "stood confessed," as Milton says of somebody else. But if they were all surprised to find in the gray surtout a bishop, he was no less so to discover in the blue, black, and brown apparel a brother parson—the Rev. Mr. C., to whose parish I was first bound. Then came introductions, and it appeared that a large proportion on board were Episcopalians, and there were some blushes and a few searchings of heart at the recollection of the merry, free conversation that had been going on while "the bishop" sat up in a corner looking on and listening. Happy I am to say, however, that with two exceptions, all that I saw and heard gratified me, and confirmed my favorable impression of Maryland manners and habits. Plainness, even to shabbiness, characterized the dress of the party as a whole, while there were several very wealthy men and their ladies, and some holding high stations.

Frankness, cordiality, and cheerful simplicity were the tone of their conversation, refined rather in the sentiment and range of thought than in the expression. Mr. C. had a coach and servants (loaned him by a Mr. M. of his parish) in waiting, and they took us four miles inland to the parsonage adjoining the church. The latter is much such a building as the *old* Presbyterian church in Orange is described as having been; the former about equal in scale, pretensions, etc., to James Williams' parsonage. There I found three more of the brethren, who had respectively travelled fifteen, forty, and fifty-five miles on horseback to meet me. We dined together cheerfully enough, and after dinner went to service in the church (about two hundred yards from the house), where I preached, much to the satisfaction of Brother C., who has the reputation of being, and I believe is, the lowest churchman in the diocese. Introductions to a few of the congregation, tea, and conversation with Buck, Williams, and Claxton filled up the rest of the evening, until the latter two rode off to a neighbor's (two and a half miles distant) to lodge. Buck and I were room-mates in a garret room, the house having no other chamber. Next morning when we awoke, two inches of snow already fallen and a driving storm showed that services were hopeless. There are *no* villages, much less towns, in the country. Every man lives with his dependents on his own plantation, and buys the very few necessaries that he does not get from his own land at Baltimore. One consequence of this is that there are no roads—at least, what we should call roads. The main road down from Washington through the centre of the peninsula (known as the "three notch" road, because it is found* by three notches cut in the trees) is in no respect different from your father's wagon tracks through his woods or fields. There are no fences by the side of the road, but every quarter of a mile or so a gate across it, where there is a fence between adjoining fields, and these kept uniformly shut, because the "stock," as they call the cattle, would else run at large throughout the farm. A consequence of this is that every carriage must have its outrider or foot-boy to open gates, or the driver must stop at each, walk his horses through by the bridle, and after shutting it jump up, to jump down again in

* Or rather *was*, in early days, found by three notches. When the bishop wrote there was no need for these primitive indicators. The old stock Marylanders are a conservative folk; at least so far as names are concerned, all things continue as they were from the beginning. In all parts of the country there are "rolling roads," because once, before carts and wagons were found to be more convenient, hogsheads of tobacco were *rolled* on these roads to the water.

ten minutes. The houses are in general very small, even those of the richest men. Mrs. J. S.'s at Orange is a very common size and pattern. Last night I spent most pleasantly on the banks of the Patuxent, with a widow lady and her adult son, in just such a house. Yet they are worth from thirty to forty thousand dollars.

Here I had to break off to go to breakfast; from that time to this (before breakfast on Wednesday, the 25th) I have had not a moment for my letter, though I sat up to near one o'clock last night. At the church at West River, on Wednesday, there were only one of the wardens and two ladies—one of them a Methodist—the rector and myself. Next day we were dragged fourteen miles of horrible road, through snow and mud, and pine thickets so loaded with snow that they frequently deluged us with it, to All Saints' Church, in the next county. The churches here all stand alone, far, sometimes miles, from any building, and until within a very few years have been the most miserably desolate and comfortless structures you can well imagine. Now the people are everywhere repairing, rebuilding, and beautifying them. After church a ride of two miles took us to the parsonage, where I met two of Bishop Claggett's daughters, one the mother of the Mr. Chew who went to the Seminary this year. Mr. Williams, the rector of the parish, married his sister—of course a granddaughter of Bishop Claggett. Next morning we were sent on in the coach of Mrs. Young, Chew's aunt, twelve miles to Christ Church. There we found a small congregation, and I confirmed twelve. After service, four miles to the hospitable house of a true mother in Israel, a Mrs. B., whose married son lives with her as humbly and duteously as a boy of ten years old. I never felt more immediately at home than there, with her, her son, and her brother D., who came over on a visit to meet the clergy, of whom there were no less than four with me. We slept that night four in a room and two in a bed, and yet so neat and tidy was everything around, and so frank the kindness of our hosts and so entire the cordiality of the guests, that I was vastly more comfortable than I have often been in the seclusion of richly furnished separate chambers. Next day we rode twelve miles more to the chapel of that parish, where I had another confirmation. In both the church and the chapel I spoke to the people, very forcibly and plainly, about attention to the religious welfare of their servants, and was well received. That night we got to the Patuxent, and after dining at Mr. Somerville's on one side, crossed in his scow and a four-oared boat that came across to bring us, three-quarters of a mile, to Mrs. Abel's on the other. That night and the next we spent

with Mrs. A., going to church eight miles in the interior; Monday night at Rev. Mr. Mitchell's beautiful farm and mansion on the St. Mary's, where I began this letter, and now at Mr. Gough's, twelve miles off, near the Potomac.

Your own affectionate WILLIAM.

After the date of this letter a short interval of fair weather added to the many pleasures which a most earnest welcome among an intelligent and warm-hearted people secured him, and then through continued storms of rain church after church was reached, often after the appointed hour, until at last heavy snow made the roads utterly impassable. The stoppage occurred after nearly every church on the peninsula had been visited, and happily at a point from which, by crossing the Potomac, Alexandria could be reached, whence there was an easy journey home.

The following letter, which gives a further description of his impressions under novel circumstances, was mailed only the day before he was forced to break off his visitation:

NEAR PISCATAWAY, PRINCE GEORGE'S CO.,
Monday, December 7, 1840.

MY DEAREST HANNAH:

Here I am, snowed up again, and so once more set at liberty to write you a letter. I began to think I should find no chance of doing so before my return, and doubt whether I should have obtained any were it not for the breach in my arrangements. Wherever I go there are so many with me, so much information to receive, so many questions to ask and answer, that I scarcely secure time to fill up and sign necessary official documents and keep my journal. Then again I am everywhere quartered on private hospitality, and courtesy, to say the least, requires me to requite it with general attention. To go to a man's house, eat his victuals, occupy his chambers, use his carriage and horses and employ his servants, and repay him by sitting down to write, allowing him just the privilege of looking at the bishop, would not be exactly the thing. So I have to sit in the parlor and chat, and hear and tell news, and put questions, and give advice and instructions to the accompanying clergy, and discuss and solve theological questions, until late bedtime, and then go to my room, tired enough to find even writing up my journal on

the wash-stand or the dressing-table (for this is just the second time that I have enjoyed the luxury of a writing table) a labor. In the morning it is all that can be done to rise at daylight, dress, pray, pack up, get breakfast, and ride away five, ten, fifteen—twenty miles to church. So you see, if I have not written to you there was good reason. Thus far my visitation has, on the whole, been much more pleasant than I could have ventured to expect. From the clergy I have received the kindest and most respectful attention. Four or five have been always with me until Saturday last, when the severe storm hindered those who had designed to join me from coming on, and equally hindered those who had accompanied me from going farther; so that now there are only two sharing in my blockade, besides a student of the Alexandria seminary. From the faculty of that seminary, by the by, I received, by him, a very kind and respectful invitation to preach there when in the neighborhood; and from him I learn that the disposition of the students is anything but unfavorable to such churchmen as I am generally classed with. It is remarkable that the Low Church brethren, wherever I have gone, have taken to me wonderfully. Mr. ——, who has been held up before me almost as a kind of bugbear, was, indeed, a little shy at first, but soon took to me, and at last I quite made a conquest of him by happening to say, what you may remember hearing me tell Hobart, that I thought the apostles' episcopal robes were a kind of *griego*. He was almost ready to hug me for it. Next to him was an Alexandria graduate, lately settled, and he soon began asking my counsel as to the management of his parish, and opening to me all his difficulties and plans as confidingly as if I had been his own professor. The same is the case with the young man, also an Alexandria graduate, in whose parish I now am in his company. Yesterday we had a service for the family in the house, at which I officiated and preached; and besides that, all our time was spent in conversation on religious and theological topics—and never did I find more kind, attentive, teachable hearers in my little circle in the Seminary library than I had in him and the student whom I have already mentioned. These things, I own, encourage me greatly—and I hope and trust do not elate me. Then, again, I find that my exhortations to the clergy and laity to take care of the spiritual interests of the slaves are most cordially received, and I have every reason to believe will be attended to, and in some cases, at least, productive of good effects. Wherever I have staid I have had the servants called in at night and have spoken to them on their religious duties—on all which occasions the masters and their families

have been respectful and often most attentive listeners. I forget where I last wrote to you, but think it was at Mr. Mitchell's, on the St. Mary's.

To him I am indebted for no ordinary kindness. He is wealthy independently of his parish, and has a heart as large as his estate. He brought me on in his own coach no less than ten days' journey, and, as his nineteen years' residence had made him acquainted with everybody and all the localities and with the history of all the parishes, was a most useful guide. . . . At Chaptico I got the first news from home in the shape of D.'s excellent and most acceptable letter. It furnished me with plenty of business, and fortunately, the same night, I got a chance (the only one I have had since) of writing in comfort at the hospitable mansion of Major Stoddard, on the Wicomico, a river a mile and a quarter wide, which we crossed with no little discomfort in the teeth of a fresh and cold northwest wind after dark; then I wrote nearly a dozen business letters, writing till one, and up again at six next morning. You may judge of our quarters elsewhere when I tell you that this comparative comfort was having only three in a room, my bed being a single one. We have been more often four in a two-bedded room than otherwise, and not seldom that room with a sloping ceiling on both sides. Never did I see such a pigmy scale of building as prevails in this part of Maryland. Nevertheless, small as their houses are, Western Shore hospitality is fully equal to its reputation. Franker, freer, heartier, it could not be; and what is best of all, it consists in making you at home and treating you as if you were at home. No fuss, no parade, no apologies, no departure from the common course of things. A larger table, and more food, and another log on the fire in the best room is all the change, and in half an hour I defy any one to feel strange among them. I have been loaded with invitations to bring you down, and when I talked about four children they laughed at the excuse. Yet where they would put them if they got them down it puzzles me to guess. . . .

Your own affectionate

WILLIAM.

The remainder of the winter was spent chiefly in Baltimore, the bishop going to those parishes only which could be readily reached from the city. In the early spring he again left home to make a circuit of the churches in the counties bordering on the upper part of the Chesapeake.

If the sunshine of welcome met him everywhere, it was more than the skies gave. The winter and spring of his first year in Maryland seem to have been exceptionally disagreeable. His note-book presents an almost unvarying record of foul weather, snow-storms and rain-storms, and consequent heavy roads, and of good congregations who turned out to meet him despite obstacles and discomfort. Discomfort was not always ended on reaching the church. In one large brick chapel of colonial date, twice roofed and never finished, the bishop "was during entire service wretchedly cold; the building entirely open and rather colder than the air without, though a chill northeaster was blowing." He was now in a part of the diocese which as much as any had suffered from what followed the civil Revolution. He hears everywhere of changed circumstances. A small wooden church has taken the place of a large one of brick. In one parish two chapels of ease have utterly disappeared, the materials "abstracted," he writes. Like stories are told him in other places. Nor had churches simply been destroyed piecemeal as bricks were needed to build chimneys, etc., but vestries robbed Peter to pay Paul. "Old Chester Church was in process of erection at the Revolution. The church was very large, wood-work heavy and solid, brick wall substantial. It stood a mile and a half out of town, inconvenient of access to the two or three families who lived in the town. On that plea they pulled it down with great difficulty several years ago." Very probably the location had been chosen at first to suit the convenience of richer planters, according to a custom which prevailed in Virginia and Maryland and which has not yet ceased. The attention of the bishop was called to another old church whose solid pews a vestry wished to remove—old Wye Church—"a venerable building, chancel semicircular, recess in the east end; pulpit in middle of north side, paved with English brick; circular arched ceiling." This description was from report. A few years later he stood within its

walls under peculiar circumstances in company with a clergyman and two friends—dearly prized friends, Dr. Shattuck, of Boston, and Fred. W. Brune, Esq., of Baltimore—who had gone with him to the Eastern Shore. The occurrence has been described elsewhere * in these words :

In order to return to Baltimore it was necessary that they should meet a steamboat at a certain landing early in the morning; to do so they had to leave their resting-place before day. The way led them near an abandoned church. The bishop said he could not pass without visiting it. Going to it they found that in the "desolate house" stray cattle dwelt—that the church had become a stable. The dumb creatures were driven out, and after a brief examination of the state of the building, standing in the desecrated chancel, the gray light of the dawn adding impressiveness to the scene, the bishop said, "Let us pray," and the four brethren knelt together. My informant has told me that never was he more touched than by the humble attitude of the lowly servant of God as he poured out his soul in supplication, and entreated the Lord that he would revive his work, that he would build the old waste places and make the sound of praise to be again heard in this house called by his name. The service ended, they barred the entrance as they could with fence-rails and went their way. But before they had left the building they contributed what was the foundation of a fund for the restoration of the church; their prayers and their alms went up for a memorial before God, and God's blessing came down upon them. Before long the house was meetly repaired, and its walls resounded to the re-established worship of God.

A more extended significance must be given to the words "before long" than was intended when they were first written, under circumstances which gave little opportunity for verification. It was not until 1855 that the bishop had the happiness to report that pious effort to restore this long-abandoned church and to gather again a congregation of worshippers had been crowned with success; that its walls, "erected more than a century ago, and for nearly a quarter

* A discourse commemorative of Bishop Whittingham, preached on the octave of his burial by W. F. B.

of that time standing in utter desolation, a silent appeal to the children of pious ancestors, had been restored to more than their pristine comeliness and adaptedness for our holy services, and were at last on July 20th, with the assistance of a great gathering of rejoicing priests and people, solemnly appropriated to their sacred use by consecration." In the address from which these words are taken the bishop stated that during the fifteen years of his episcopate he had consecrated in Maryland seventy churches, including four dedications of enlarged and renewed buildings.

In general the transfer of the bishop from parish to parish was by conveyances at least as comfortable as those of Maryland country gentlemen, who habitually preferred the saddle to a wheel carriage, but it was not always. At times he met difficulties, which, if not like those overcome by his friend the first Bishop of New Zealand, or those cheerfully put aside by our western missionary bishops, are yet not in the programme of one in a settled Eastern State. On one occasion not being met, as he had expected, on leaving the cars at a station, he set out on foot; after walking miles and finding no guide nor place to stay, he retraced his steps, and meeting one who could show him his way, renewed his effort to keep his appointment and reached a resting-place near midnight. The thought that he could take the next train and return to comfortable quarters did not occur to him. At another time, leaving at daybreak with a rector in his one-horse carriage, to be by eleven at a church twenty-one miles distant, mire proved to be too much for the parson's beast, and the greater part of the way the bishop had to trudge on foot through snow and clay. Thoroughly wet he performed his duties. To such reckless exposure must be attributed the loss of voice suffered at times in subsequent years, and even at this time to a slight extent. The church, which by diligent plodding he thus reached an hour after the time appointed, he describes as having one end of the chancel cut off by a red curtain as a robing-room, and a

very small communion table on one side of the chancel. He does not say, what probably he did not know and yet is true, that this communion table, like to a candle-stand, when not used for its sacred purpose was relegated to the curtained vestry, and there, together with the font, served as the receptacle of overcoats and hats and anything else demanding a resting-place. Nor does he say that he took occasion to speak of the reverence due to all that pertains to divine worship. His kind words were kindly received and caused some amendments. Now the rector thus blind to what is seemly in God's house was not only an excellent, self-sacrificing, pious man, but such an one that the bishop, being then in Maryland, had spoken of his election to the standing committee in 1828 as a triumph of the High Church party. *Ex uno disce.* What was the state of ecclesiology in Maryland prior to 1840?

After a brief rest in Baltimore—if that be rest which is but a change of labor—the bishop continued his visitation on the Eastern Shore, going down to the lowest parish. An extract from a letter to "father and mother" will show what a part of this journey was—it was, as before, nearly all through rain and mire—and also the encouragement received from an examination of this portion of his field.

April 14, 1841.

. . . On Wednesday last my appointment was to go to Church Creek, nine miles, and thence to Taylor's Island, ten miles further, in a very low country, nowhere two feet above the level of the sea, and intersected in all directions by almost numberless creeks and ditches. On Tuesday night it was deluged with rain, and on Wednesday morning overflowed by the highest tide that had occurred within the memory of man. The consequence was that for three-fourths of our way we had to travel (in a gig) a road from one to two feet under water, and found almost all the bridges across the creeks, etc., floated away. You may conceive the difficulty we had in scrambling across and through the water and mire, and obstacles of all kinds, such as floating timbers, etc., with which in many places the road was choked up. However, we were brought safely through it all,

and with the exception of being disappointed of a congregation at Church Creek, I was enabled to carry out all my plans. My satisfaction with the state of things continues. I want nothing but men (*i.e.*, clergymen) of the right stamp to give the Church new life, energy, and extension in all this part of the diocese. Already in the past week I have been able to make arrangements for the supply of six places of worship now destitute, as soon as I can find the men. Out of these, three sufficient parishes may be very well formed in three years.

A letter written by the bishop when going over these same lower counties in 1842, with one of a later date to his mother, will well take the place of an attempt to follow him in his present adventures by flood and field.

SALISBURY, SOMERSET COUNTY,
November 21, 1845.

DEAR MOTHER:

. . . Since the 6th of this month I have been on a visitation on this Shore, and very busily employed. I am in a part of the diocese very different in all its characteristics from that in which my last visitation was made. Far inferior in point of secular advantages, it is far more promising as regards things spiritual. For more than fifty years it has been laid waste, first by Methodism and then by the lowest of low-toned (so-called) Evangelicalism. The last five years have been a season of resuscitation—life, as it were, from the dead, as regards Church principle and practice. The elder Crosdale (who was so suddenly taken away in the very prime of his days and strength a year ago) was the beginner of the work. It has gone on under the still more vigorous, zealous, and successful management of his brother John, aided by L.; by a singular but able man named C.; and not least efficiently by an irregular, impulsive one, N. Under these clergymen, laboring most faithfully, in season and out of season, often with the sacrifice of every species of comfort—John Crosdale has literally had no home for two years past, living continually on the circuit among his parishioners—and in large part at their own charges, or on the fruit of their earnings by teaching schools, the Church has made a progress which, at the beginning of the period, I should not have thought possible. It is a progress more equally pertaining to both principle and practice than I have witnessed anywhere else. The doctrines of the Gospel in the Church are taught fearlessly and fully, and carried out thoroughly in prac-

tice; and the result is that people who six years ago hardly knew what a sacrament is, are now in large part well prepared to appreciate and profit by the advantages of an opportunity of daily communion which many of them enjoy, some for several days in succession, during the progress of my visitation. The services of the Church are conducted everywhere decently, and in some places with more of the primitive fashion in the beauty of holiness than you have an opportunity of witnessing, perhaps, in any church in New York. Six clergymen in surplices, *e.g.*, and a bishop in his robes, kneeling in a chancel defaced by no gigantic deformities called pulpit and desk, round an altar-shaped communion table, and joining a well-trained choir in all the chants of the Church, in a little country church where an organ has never been seen, and a surplice never had been until within the last few years, must be admitted to be a cheering exhibition of the decent pomp of our holy mother. In the fifteen days past I have consecrated five churches: two of them new, where the Church had never before been planted; one of them an old church disused for twenty years, and now repaired and reoccupied; and two of them old churches, used ever since their erection but never yet consecrated, and recently repaired and refitted. I have another new church to consecrate to-morrow, in a village where two years ago I held the first service of the Church that had been holden in the place, in the bar-room of a tavern. Yesterday I officiated in a yet unfinished building in the woods on the borders of Delaware to a congregation of whom at least one-half had never seen a bishop, and who then saw a surplice and heard the chants of the Church (sung by the clergy with me and myself) for the first time. That church and three others (two now building, one yet to be begun) I expect, God willing, to have to consecrate next spring. All this Church extension is going on, too, in two counties among the poorest and least prosperous in the State. Thank God, too, the spiritual growth of the Church seems to keep pace, at the very least, with this external growth; and the good-will even of those who have been hostile to her seems to be conciliated in her behalf, while the very excitement of so many outward and visible signs of life and strength draws attention to her claims and creates interest in her teaching. I must now leave off as it is church time.

Your affectionate WILLIAM.

In all his earlier visitations, when he could take any extra baggage—sometimes he had to "take up his carriages" as St. Paul did—the bishop took with him surplices to make sure

that the clergy should be decently habited. Not unfrequent mention is made of the use of them for the first time in such a church; even the lending of a white cravat to an officiating clergyman is noted. In the country, usually, the black gown had been the only distinctive mark of an officiating clergyman. The breaking in upon even old customs through regard for what is church-like and seemly in public worship was deemed by him no harmful innovation. He liked too that a clergyman should be recognized as such, not only in the chancel but in the ordinary walks of life—that he should be known by his demeanor and by his garb as well. He believed a distinctive dress to be a benefit to the priest and to those who looked upon him, and accordingly we find that while on his first visitation on the Western Shore, he "agreed" with six brethren who gladly accompanied him "to commence the wear of cassocks," and during a long time after a cassock marked not only a clergyman but one who particularly cared to please his bishop.

His brief diary shows also what is more worthy of note, and what long personal intercourse confirms. Being in New York soon after his consecration, he writes: "Ten Broeck came home with me in carriage. Complains of levity in visitations. *Mem.:* Take care of it." And he did take care that no one should ever find cause to complain of unbecoming levity in his walk and conversation. He never forgot that he bore the marks of his Divine Master, though not the stigmata of S. Paul, nor was any one ever tempted to forget that he was a bishop. Layman and clergyman never failed to find in intercourse with him something good to the use of edifying, ministering grace to the hearers. When with his clergy for any length of time, as when they accompanied him from parish to parish, if profitable themes, likely to suggest themselves, failed, it was his practice to take out some book to read to them, grave or not, but serving to prevent idle words. For the occupying a short while Keble's "Christian Year" was a favorite. Not that he

"talked religion"—in the expression of religious feeling he was very reserved; lowly estimate of himself secured this—nor always on religious subjects; far from it. He could adapt himself to his company, only he would not encourage gossip or endure it long. Wherever he went in his round of duties, whoever was his host counted it as a privilege to look forward to receiving him again, for it seemed to him to be a part of his duty as a visiting bishop to give pleasure as well as to do good. An incident, although a mere nothing, will show what he thought a bishop ought to be among his people. A clergyman was driving with him through his parish, when a negro boy ran out from a cabin to open one of the hundred and one gates through which they had to pass. The bishop bade the driver stop and gave the boy a piece of money. To the remark, "Do the same at every gate and you will go home penniless," he answered, "Well, I would like even the poor negroes to be glad on hearing that the bishop is coming."

He made himself all things to all men. The cultured he gratified from the abundance of his learning; with the plain farmer he talked crops and manures as if he had been bred a farmer boy; among artisans or artists he gained good will by an interest in their concerns, and by showing that he could give as well as receive information on such matters. One to whom we are indebted for the relation of his quickness to discern the many varieties in an avenue of pine trees, and so to captivate the owner, tells how an honest, plain farmer with whom the bishop was to lodge or dine, and who had feared that he could not get along with such a scholar, was completely won by the bookman who could so well appreciate the excellence of his pet chickens, and knew so much about all the different breeds and all the concerns of the poultry-yard.

Being thus at the same time genial and instructive, it is not strange that during his visitations, especially in the lower counties, there was always a following of clergy, one

joining the procession as another had to go back to his parish.

One constant habit marked the bishop's visitations to the lower counties both on the Western and Eastern Shores. As may be inferred from a letter given in this chapter, he never failed, where the opportunity was possible, in church to address some words of instruction to the blacks, and in private houses, at times of family prayers, if the domestics were not present, he would ask that they be called in,* and frequently, in public and in private, he urged upon masters their duty as Christians to see to the Christian instruction of their "servants," using the euphemism commonly used in Maryland—copied, perhaps, from our version of the New Testament. In an earlier chapter it has been remarked that his sympathies were always drawn out by the condition of the negro race in America. To appreciate the evidence of this sympathy, shown by his pleading as bishop in their behalf, one must recall the excitement prevalent in all slaveholding communities, and more especially in the border slave States, due to the persistent and supposed dangerous efforts of the Northern abolitionists of that day. When Bishop Whittingham was yet a young bishop, the writer preached on the obligations of masters; for he had learned, while studying the civil law of the then most southern State, that slavery is a condition in which a man gives all his labor to a master who is bound to care for all his wants. Although

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* "A notice by the rector of services designed for the colored population afforded me an acceptable opportunity of expressing to the white congregation my sense of their responsibility to God for the eternal condition of that much-neglected portion of his heritage. Surely their blood will be upon the heads of those who suffer them to go down to the pit in brute ignorance or blind fanaticism unwarned, untaught, unfed with the bread of life! Throughout the diocese I have been happy to find a proper feeling on this subject, and a disposition to hear patiently and approve admonitions to masters to discharge their duty to those whom God has made subject to their will. . . . A heavy burden lies on us, my brethren, both of the clergy and of the laity, until we do more, much more, than is now done for the servile portion of our Church."—*The Bishop's first address to Convention.*

there was in the sermon nothing but what a Paul, who sent a fugitive slave back to his master, might have written, the manuscript was passed from hand to hand, not only in the congregation but in the adjoining county, among men not anxious for instruction in duty, but fearful lest there should be in their midst a hated abolitionist.

Bishop Whittingham was not an abolitionist. He once said, as is distinctly remembered, that, placing the true estimate on life—its being a state of preparation for eternity—he would choose the condition of the poorest slave he had as yet seen rather than harbor the spirit of the common abolitionist. But there is no reason to tax memory. His written words remain. In December, 1842, he wrote to Dr. John Scott, who was then catechist to a congregation of negroes on the Eastern Shore:

> The calumny of abolitionism must be carefully guarded against. This can be best done by the most scrupulous adherence to religious instruction and intercourse with the negroes, and by bringing out fully in such instruction and intercourse the bearing of faith on practice, the Gospel rule of subordination in society, and the compatibility of spiritual privilege with temporal privation, and even oppression. For my own part, as put in trust with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I loathe and abhor the spirit of abolitionism as it has developed itself at the North, firmly believing it to have proceeded from the first great rebel and fosterer of all insubordination. The evils attendant on slavery are aggravated, not cured, by its intervention. Those evils, it is my full persuasion, are only to be cured by the operation of the Gospel on the system as it is, introducing into it a new element like one of those powerful solvents in chemistry which change the nature without altering the outward form or texture.

He could not have used stronger language: did he change his views? In May, 1862, he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Billopp: "I am no abolitionist, and have not the slightest sympathy with any of those who are." Indeed, there were men in his diocese—may it not seem intrusive to say that the writer was one—who advocated as rights of the black

man what the bishop's prudence taught him should not be pressed. There was in Baltimore one colored congregation. Although it may not appear on the journal, the question as to the admission of such congregations into union with the diocese came up in Convention and was put aside by the bishop. To the question, put to him in private after this discussion, "Is not a black man—is not a slave in Christ entitled to all the rights of a Christian?" he answered, "Doubtless; but I do not consider representation in Convention to be a Christian right." The black congregation referred to, whom he considered his children, although they had no seat in the legislative body where he was addressed as Mr. President, received from him special attention, and in his not infrequent visits nothing could be more courteous than his demeanor. Indignation, when stirred, might be plainly expressed elsewhere, but among his blacks, in the chancel and when they thronged around him after service, he showed all the gentle consideration of a spiritual father. Although content that the slave should abide in his calling until his one Master should change his condition, or rather not willing to further the philanthropic views of the political agitators of the day, the negro was his fellow-man, his brother in Christ, for whose true good, as for that of the highest in the land, he was responsible to God.

During his first tours on the Eastern Shore the bishop heard of the appointment by President Tyler of a day of humiliation and prayer marking the grief of the people of the United States on the death of President Harrison, the first President who had died in office. This appointment was probably due to the suggestion of Bishop Whittingham. He had been asked to preach a funeral discourse in Washington; he could not then because of engagements, but promised that he would if the President could be induced to appoint a day of general humiliation. When this was done, this recognition by the Executive of the General Government of dependence on Almighty God gave him great

satisfaction, and with corresponding interest he issued a circular to his clergy, with an accompanying form of prayer to be used in all congregations on the day appointed.* On May 14th, in St. John's Church, Washington, he preached a sermon which was published.

Soon after the bishop met the Diocesan Convention for the first time, having then been in every part of his diocese and having officiated in nearly every congregation, but at that time, to his mortification, he could merely preside, and through loss of voice had to rely on others for the discharge of duties. A letter to his mother tells the story of his first Convention.

BALTIMORE, June 2, 1841.

DEAR MOTHER:

It is but true, as you have heard, that I have been voiceless for a few days (and that too when it might have seemed that I most needed my voice), but it is not true that I owe it to overmuch preaching. I never was in better health or voice than on the 20th, when I preached in St. Paul's and confirmed forty-three, the second confirmation in that church in less than eight weeks. But I took a little cold on that day. I had an appointment of long standing (twice before *dis*-appointed) in a parish a few miles out of town for Sunday. Saturday afternoon, though hoarse, I rode out. Next morning I rose hoarse as a crow, but seeing that it would be a great disappointment, and finding two or three individuals in such a state that I did not dare take the responsibility of the risk of spiritual injury to them if I postponed the services, I e'en went through them in a deep bass voice. It lasted me until all was over, but within ten minutes after the close of the service my voice was all gone. From that time until day before yesterday I have been unable to speak above a whisper, and, part of the time, only with the utmost effort in that tone. Now, thank God, my voice is rapidly returning. I see nobody except the doctor, and talk little in the family. Dr. Wyatt took my place in preaching the Convention sermon, and Dr. Johns in the Mission sermon. My address was read by Mr. Boyd. I presided in

* The bishop was under the impression that this was the first fast appointed by a President. He was mistaken. In 1812 President Madison recommended a fast. Dr. Bond, in a letter in the bishop's library, asks of Bishop Claggett whether he will observe the day and prepare a form of prayer, being in doubt.

the Convention, Mr. B. saying aloud what I addressed to him in a whisper. All went off, I believe, very well, but the exertion of the three days of Convention did me much harm. I was in danger of serious illness. . . . The sermon you like so well was written in a little less than two days, all I had to give between a visitation and the day of preaching. I had an interview with the President the preceding evening, in which, after taking pains to say that he made no special profession of religion, he expressed himself very strongly as to his sense of the importance of religion to the community, and his determination to make his influence steadily subservient to the advancement of a high tone of religious morals. He said if he had not been satisfied of the divine right of the Sabbath, his experience of its necessity and advantage since his accession to office alone would have convinced him of its importance. He boasted of having been brought up in the *old* Virginia school of churchmanship. . . . Had God granted me voice, I intended to preach my Convention sermon on 1 Thess., iv. 11. By looking at the Greek and a Greek Concordance you will see what a special emphasis there is on φιλοτιμεῖσθαι. . . .

Your affectionate W. R. W.

LETTERS.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO THE REV. DR. ROBERTSON, MISSIONARY, THEN IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

BALTIMORE, September 17, 1840.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:

Among the many gratifying circumstances that tend to counterbalance the grievousness of the burden imposed on me by my election to the bishopric of Maryland, I count it not the least that I am thereby brought into a closer and more intimate relation with yourself. This day I have been charged with the oversight of that portion of our Master's flock to which you canonically belong, and I make it the first exercise of my new functions to offer you my assistance, sympathies, and prayers, and to claim the reciprocation of such offices of love on your part. I have always watched your mission with peculiar interest, believing it to be adapted to accomplish a great work if prosecuted, as there is no doubt it will be, with due vigilance, zeal, and charity. Perhaps no external blessing would be equal in value to the Church with the revival of Catholic communion on the pure principle of the Scriptures and primitive Catholicity. Heresy and schism in all their forms, now seemingly so rampant in every part of the world, would receive a more deadly blow from the reunion of all who adhere to the foundations than it would be possible to inflict by any direct attack. . . . Nowhere does there seem to be an opportunity of action so fair, so free from let or obstacle, as the embassy you bear from the youngest of the Western Churches to the oldest of the Eastern. We are wholly unpledged to the dissensions between our parent Churches and their Eastern sisters. We are free to do anything scriptural and Catholic in its principle and tendency that may conciliate and satisfy. . . . There neither is nor can be any rivalry, any interference, any en-

croachment on either part to cause suspicions and heartburnings in our intercourse with the Eastern Churches. The very proffer of such intercourse is a recognition of their pretensions and an evidence of our value for their communion. Its revival, free, full, and frank, is all we ask. Revering the same Scriptures as the Word of God, reverencing the same fathers in the Church as its interpreters, receiving the same Catholic Creeds as symbols of the doctrine revealed in it, we ask but that we should be indulged in fraternal interchange of views concerning the true worth and efficacy of these our common treasures. It cannot be but that sooner or later our desires shall be gratified, and the extremes of the East and the West, uniting in brotherly affection, confidence, and counsel, resolder into its primitive entirety the long-severed mystic ring of Church communion. W. R. W.

Within a twelvemonth Dr. Robertson was recalled; and a few years later, after the Church had been represented by Bishop Southgate, consecrated for this service, the mission was abandoned. So seriously did Bishop Whittingham estimate "the duty of our Church to the East," that in 1843 he "cogitated" plans for the continuation and possible extension of our relations with the East by the action of bishops who viewed the matter as it presented itself to him, such bishops "commissioning in their own names, either severally or jointly, an envoy or envoys to one or more of the Eastern Churches;" "always supposing those who should undertake it to be driven to it by the refusal of those in whose hands the work now is to go on with it on right principles." With a view of being prepared for possible action he corresponded with a former pupil, whom he considered to be specially fitted for the contemplated undertaking. To him he explained that the envoys would be expected to engage in any work approved by the bishops with whom they should reside. One advantage attending this mode of communication appeared to him to be its greater conformity with the primitive and Catholic operation of the Church.

FROM A LETTER TO M., WHO HAD OFFERED TO GO AS MISSIONARY IN THE FOREIGN FIELD.

DOES NOT FAVOR THE MISSION TO CHINA.

1843.

. . . I must say to you honestly that the late English affairs in China have changed my views of that mission. I have previously justified our engagement on the ground that we had large commercial relations with China, nearly equal in extent with those of England. . . . But now England is placed by the providence of God in a position of peculiar obligation to China, and, what is more, seems to be disposed to assume and discharge her obligation in the right spirit. She will certainly send a mission to China, and probably a bishop. In that case what will be the position of our mission? One either of rivalry or subordination. If subordinate (as all Catholic principles require), why should we waste our puny strength in doing work which England is well able to do for herself? If rival, every true Catholic Christian must feel bound to discountenance and put down, instead of supporting such an undertaking.

W. R. W.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO EACH OF THE BISHOPS, COMMUNICATING THE FACT OF HIS CONSECRATION.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1840.

RT. REV. FATHER IN GOD:

It can hardly be needful to remind you of the once universal practice of the Church of Christ, that on the consecration of a bishop he should by letter communicate with all his brethren of the province not present at his consecration, and thus commence the brotherly intercourse to which his new office had introduced him. This, you are aware, was but part of a system by which the whole Christian world was bound in the closest and strongest manner into one indissoluble body—the system of letters canonical and communicatory. To some extent that system has been continued in the canons of our own confederate churches; but it is to be regretted that their provisions have been left in this respect imperfect.

A late enactment of the British Parliament may serve to direct our attention to one at least of these imperfections. That enactment, in removing the disabilities under which clergymen of the Scotch and American Episcopal Churches formerly lay, discreetly

and in entire conformity with Catholic usage provides that its benefits shall be extended only to clergymen of those churches accredited as such by canonical letters receivable by the English bishop in whose diocese they may desire to be recognized. We have no provision for such letters, although they occupy a prominent place in the ecclesiastical regulation of the primitive Church, and although hereafter no travelling clergyman or bishop will be willing to leave home without them; any more than we have for the kind which I am now venturing to obtrude on your charity and forbearance. Letters communicatory, of every kind and grade, from that by which the parish priest entitles his absent communicant to seek spiritual food at the hand of a brother pastor wherever he may sojourn, to that by which the presiding bishop of a province or confederation like our own, notifies his equals in sister churches of his accession to priority of order among his brethren, are all unprovided for by our system of law, and almost wholly neglected in prevailing usage.

Is this right? Is it not dangerous? Can it be right to leave in disuse a practice of immemorial antiquity in the Church, founded on abundant precedent and example in Scripture, attended with many and very obvious advantages while and wherever in use, and not, so far as I know, chargeable or ever charged with evil results of any kind? Is it not dangerous to forego a means of superintendence and vigilance so effectual and so highly sanctioned, in an age but too prone to relax the check of discipline and reduce authority of all kinds to mere airy show and ineffectual form? The increase of facilities of mutual intercourse is working great changes in civil society, for good or evil. Is it not important that its good effect should be enhanced by turning it to the Church's account in a way already provided, and its many evil influences checked by the counteracting tendency of the employment of the same means?

On the one hand, there are plain indications in many quarters that the time may be drawing near when the visible body of Christ shall again reunite its dissevered members and show itself to the world as one whole, entire in the fulness of Him who filleth all in all. Who would not pray and labor and strive to hasten on that happy day? May we not avail ourselves, for that purpose, of the increase of travel and of the increased facilities of intercourse by letter, by reviving and sedulously keeping up what I may call the ecclesiastical civilities of the old Church?—civilities which sunk, as every other sweet refinement of social intercourse must, under the iron grasp of despotism—the despotism in this case of usurping Rome.

On the other hand, in proportion as society assumes more and

more a restless and migratory character and the old landmarks are everywhere fading from the view, is it not our duty to provide the remedy by recurring to a system which makes removal of place a mere transfer of subordination and oversight, not an escape from those salutary and, to the Christian, vitally necessary relations? Could anything but good come of a practice by which, if generally followed, the laity of the Church must feel themselves, in their many and rapid changes of place, to be still always under the oversight and restraint of spiritual guardianship? and by which the clergy would be rendered responsible for the spiritual nourishment and care as well of the sojourner as of the settled member of the flock?

Moved by these and many other similar considerations, which have no doubt often occurred to your superior wisdom and experience, I have presumed to trouble you with this letter, in the belief that as a beginning must be made somewhere, should a revival of the old system of church correspondence ever be brought about, the present is the most favorable opportunity that may ever offer to me for bearing my individual testimony, however humble, in its behalf, and drawing to the subject the notice of those who are far more able to do it justice.

The appearance of novelty in the procedure compelled me to explain my reasons, and with them I have now trespassed on your patience too long to add more than an earnest and humble petition for your counsel, admonition, or rebuke, as you shall see occasion, and above all your prayers in behalf of your unworthy, but faithfully affectionate and respectful brother,

W. R. Whittingham,
Bishop of Maryland.

The only letters found, and therefore, in all probability, the only letters received by the bishop, in answer are the two following:

Burlington, Vt., November, 1840.

Right Revd. and Dear Brother:

. . . It is a subject of very especial thankfulness to the great Head of the Church to see a spirit like your own brought into the most difficult and responsible office of a bishop, and in a diocese which for so many reasons must be accounted one of the most important, at a time when I feel almost ready to retreat from a task to which I find myself unequal into the less arduous post of an ordi-

nary preacher of the Gospel. You are full of the knowledge which so few possess—the knowledge of what the primitive bishops were and ours ought to be. You have the ardent zeal necessary to maintain the true standard, and you enjoy a measure of confidence and affectionate admiration from a larger portion of the Church (according to my estimate) than any of your episcopal brethren, owing to a combination of circumstances which are, to say the least, very peculiar. In all this I see a promise of extraordinary efficiency just in those points where our evil days require it, and I bless God that it is so. But government and discipline are gone, my dear brother, and you will find it, I fear, a hard task to bring them back again. The episcopacy of the Church in our nineteenth century is the true successor of the apostolic government in the order of lineal descent; but it is no more like its progenitor than the puny lordling of the modern English aristocracy is like the stalwart baron whose lance and sword, under favor of Providence, laid the foundation of his estates and title. Almost might it be said of our episcopacy, *stat nominis umbra.* If you should be privileged to add the substance to the shade, none will rejoice more than I; but I verily think that the democracy of the age will not allow it. . . .

I did not intend, however, when I began, to cast any shade over the encouraging prospect which the Lord has opened before you. . . . And now, commending you most cordially to the grace of God, and beseeching him to be your guide and constant protector, and to make you an eminent blessing to the Church of his dear Son, I remain your faithful friend and brother,

JOHN H. HOPKINS.

DIOCESE OF OHIO,
GAMBIER, October, 1840.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:

I have this day received with great pleasure your *literæ enthronisticæ*, according to the ancient, venerable, and excellent usage of the Church, by which the bishops of the Church, on their consecration, were accustomed to announce the same to their brethren and to promote the unity and communion of the various provinces in the kingdom of God on earth. Remembering that in answer to such letters communicatory it was the custom for those bishops to whom they were sent to return expressions of peace and communion, I hasten thus to answer yours immediately, not only to show how cordially and affectionately I welcome you to this office and ministry, and

would hold with you the most fraternal fellowship in all good works as one of the Lord's stewards and workers together with him, but also to manifest how entirely I meet and approve and relish this revival by you of the custom of letters communicatory.

My dear brother, may the good and gracious Lord replenish your soul with grace anew for the newness of your work and the oldness of your cross. No work in the ministry has so much to try and weary and exhaust the heart; none has so little to relieve and exhilarate it, so far as things intrinsic are concerned, as that which has been committed to us as bishops. Growth in grace *for* it and *from* it is the personal reward to be sought.

But I must take heed lest I use all my paper too soon. Connected with the revival of the *literæ enthronisticæ* should be that of the ancient usage of calling all the bishops of a province to a consecration, and endeavoring to get the actual attendance of as many as possible, instead of desiring only the minimum required for a regular consecration, as has often been the case. At present three-fourths of the bishops have no notice of the time and place, nor any invitation to attend. . . .

Your most affectionate brother, CHAS. P. MCILVAINE.

TO HIS MOTHER.

DESPONDENT.—A GUIDE YET BLIND AND HELPLESS.

TUESDAY NIGHT, August 10, 1841.

DEAR MOTHER:

I was half sorry when I saw your handwriting on Saturday last, for the very reason to which you have alluded in the beginning of the letter—that my obligation to pay the debt would deprive me of all claim to the credit of even whatever good intentions I might have previously had. In fact, this very sheet was actually folded for the purpose of writing to you, and had been so some ten minutes, when your letter came in. Other letters which bore it company brought business that demanded attention, and before I got through that a fit of the sick headache came on, from which I am barely recovered. I have been, thank God, quite well in body since my arrival, and by assiduous quiet have, I trust, shaken off all remainder of the disease of my throat. In mind I have not been equally well off, although I trust that, like bodily ailment, my mental uneasiness will not have been unuseful. My solitude has thrown me in upon

myself, and backward and forward, and while I found nothing but cause of fear and loathing in all I have been and am and can be, I do humbly believe that it has deepened and fastened my dependence on One whose strength is made perfect in weakness, and His wisdom wrought out by folly. Most gladly would I change place with the meanest of the poor slaves whom I number among my flock—most thankfully—were no duty, no dread, no love, to withhold. As might be expected, every year of life reveals to me more and more its emptiness, and my own too. Could I only be assured that my knowledge of the fulness of Him who filleth all in all proportionably increased, and quickened, and grew operative, I should be but the happier for such experience. But the increase of my responsibilities has been almost too much for me. It has made me dwell too much on myself (not in view of ability, but of duty and accountability) and too little on *the whole* of which I am so insignificant a part. Brooding on what I ought to be and to do, I have in fearful degree let slip minor opportunities of trial and effort, and let my own soul run to waste while dreaming that I was looking after the souls of others. I am but the merest babe in that which I am set to teach others, and the consciousness of this overwhelms me often with stunning weight. I entreat your prayers, dear mother, not so much with reference to general success and support as for personal tenderness of conscience and growth in holiness. I need greatly increase of faith for my own salvation. For my ministry it is sure that God will accomplish his own work by that, be it what it may. But that I be not a castaway while I am made a minister to others —there is my anxiety. There is so much danger of saying and doing things for the mere habit—of becoming unreal—nay, I feel that it is so, so often, that I shudder lest that which might be my crown and rejoicing be only an increase to my condemnation. Pray, mother, that I may have faith, were it but as a grain of mustard-seed, and then for my ministry that I may have utterance. These blessings I long for to such a degree that nothing but the Psalmist's comparison (42, i.) can indicate. To-morrow, please God, I set out on a tour in the northwestern counties, and I can hardly express to you how I shrink from it, not for the bodily fatigue or labor, nor yet, I think, for the mental exercise, but for the need of seeming and assuming to be something while I feel that I am nothing, of going forth as a spiritual guide while I find myself blind and helpless, of teaching and directing while I would most gladly and thankfully take the lowest place of the learner, and submit to any control and restraint from a rightful source. It is a very hard trial, and

use does not lessen it. On the contrary, as novelty wears off I have leisure to feel it the more. The very blessings with which I have been crowned in my ministry so far increase this feeling greatly. They are indeed many and great. My difficulties about Fountain Rock have been cleared away, and I have the fairest prospect of an equally well-established diocesan school for girls, both within the last fortnight. From all parts of the diocese tidings of prosperity and growth come flowing in. Faith, love, and zeal are all I want, *i.e.*, only the head, heart, and hands of the spiritual man! Pray excuse this scrawl.

TO J. A., A PRESBYTER RENOUNCING FAITH IN CHRIST.

BALTIMORE, January 26, 1842.

SIR: I have received, and read with deep regret, a letter bearing your signature, under date of the 26th inst. If compelled to regard its contents as the deliberate and irrevocable expression of your determination, I have no alternative but the discharge of the most distressing duties of my office—your degradation from the ministry and excommunication from the Church.

The very existence of doubt in your mind on the subject of our faith in Christ is indeed sufficient reason for your renunciation of the ministerial office and duties; and I have no wish to urge you to a reconsideration of that step. For the sake of the Church, and for your own, I feel bound to acquiesce in your relinquishment of a station for which mere doubt would unfit you, and in which such doubt would be less likely to be removed than in the humbler and less awfully responsible position of a layman. Even then, however, I must remind you that displacement at my hands is no release from the obligations incurred at your ordination. Christ alone can make, and he only can unmake a minister of his Gospel. To him at his second coming you shall have to render an account of the trust you have received from him. Its exercise you have renounced, and it has thereupon become my duty solemnly and irreversibly to inhibit it. The Church on earth can know you no longer as her minister; but you are none the less the servant, sworn and bounden, of her heavenly Head.

This, my dear sir, I say not reproachfully, but as an affectionate and solemn warning of the fearful consequences of the position you have chosen to assume.

But when you go on to express, in terms the most shocking and

revolting to Christian ears, your settlement in a confirmed apostasy from the Gospel of Jesus Christ, you do what I implore you to take back for reconsideration. It is impossible that a well-balanced judgment can have arrived at the decision you express, in the teeth of the convictions of the immense majority of the wisest and best of your fellow-beings. Impulse must have driven you where evidence and argument never could have led a cool, unbiased mind. Before it is too late, I beseech you to reinvestigate the evidences of the faith you once professed, in such humble and serious temper as may prepare you for a due estimation of their weight. Your present sincerity and integrity I do not doubt; but am as sure as that we both live that you are in error—an error the most awfully dangerous into which a human immortal can be beguiled.

My painful duty on your declaration of renunciation of faith in Christ is solemnly, by virtue of his authority, to declare you an outcast from his body, cut off from hope in him and salvation through his merits. Little as you may now regard the consequences of such a procedure, the day must come when we shall both look on them as more important than any or all worldly interests combined. Of those consequences I am bound, by every consideration of duty to Him who died for you, and even now desires your return to Him, and of kind regard for you, to warn you, and afford an opportunity for change of mind, before proceeding with my awful task. I shall wait three months to hear from you, hoping and praying that before that time elapse you will have thought again, more soberly and more wisely, and returned to the one only Saviour and Lord of all.

If that—which God forbid!—should not be the case, I shall have to proceed to your solemn excommunication, and leave you to the mercies of Him whom you have forsaken, in a state of exclusion from the only channel in which it has pleased Him to reveal them. None the less truly I shall be then, as I am now, your sincere well-wisher,

W. R. W.

TO MRS. WHITTINGHAM.

ENCOURAGING INCIDENTS.

CAMBRIDGE, Monday Night, November 24, 1845.

DEAREST HANNAH:

I begin to feel as if on the threshold of home and to enjoy a foretaste of its sweets, now that my face is set fairly homeward. . . .

Since I last wrote all things have been, if possible, even yet more encouraging than they had been before—the weather continuing extremely fine, the attendance at every church very large, and the interest in the Church and its services I might almost say intense. The congregations in every instance but one have been larger than I had ever before seen in the respective places—and the one exception (yesterday) occasioned by the first unfavorable weather I have had, and was a congregation extraordinarily large under the circumstances. On Wednesday last I consecrated old St. Martin's, thronged with a deeply interested congregation. On Thursday officiated in a half-finished church built in a neighborhood of Baptists and Methodists, and filled on three days' notice by a congregation of whom the patriarchal builder of the church (seventy-four years old and straight as an arrow) said "he reckoned one-half of them had never seen a 'bishop' before," and in whose ears the chants (which they then for the first time heard sung) sounded like a strange tongue. Some of them were the next day at the services at Salisbury, and again yesterday at those at Spring Hill, more than twenty miles from their homes. One of them, the father of a family, I there baptized and confirmed, together with his aged mother. On Saturday I consecrated the new church built by Lewin at Quantico, the village where when last on the Shore I preached in the bar-room of the tavern, and where now between fifty and sixty persons partook of the holy communion in a building plain and simple, but as church-like as any in the United States. Some of the attendants on that occasion had travelled more than fifty miles to be present. At Salisbury, on Friday, I had had two services, and had found the new rector already working wonderful improvements in his church and people, and firmly established in the respect and affections of his people. He, on the other hand, is quite delighted with his reception and success thus far. Truly God has been good to us in this part of the diocese. I cannot sufficiently express my deep thankfulness for the work that I see going on here steadily and surely, and if not rapidly, yet still not slowly. Six churches consecrated at this visit and four more getting ready for consecration in June next, a prospect of very speedy settlement of two more ministers in these lower counties, and before long four, if not five, afford reasonable hope of still greater progress for the future than has been yet made. I have had an hour and a half's interruption since writing the above, and it is now half-past eleven o'clock, so you must not expect me to write much more. I have had a service to-day in a very airy upper story of a mill, and have ridden one-and-thirty miles in the teeth of

a pretty cool northwester, so you may suppose do not feel either disposed to sit up much longer or particularly bright. Lewin, too, who is my room-mate, is talking all the time, and, what is worse, very good sense too, so that I have to answer him, and that process, of course, does not tend to improve the sense or to expedite the progress of my letter. . . .

CHAPTER XI.

EDUCATION IN THE DIOCESE.

1841–1864.

The fidelity with which Bishop Whittingham, during his long episcopate, watched over the interests of his diocese, may be understood by what has been said of his first visitations.

He could not have been faithful to his calling had he been faithful simply to those who called him. Placed by God over the Church in Maryland, he was responsible for all within its territory, responsible to all for the effort to give them not only a knowledge of the Gospel in a general sense, but of the full truth intrusted to the Church. This conclusion made an abiding impression on him, often deepened as he wrote the words, "Bishop of Maryland," which marked his office to others and to himself. There was for him no escape from a painful sense of the responsibility of a bishop. His notes show that before he had been consecrated he had been occupied with thoughts of what he should do for the waste places in the field of his future labors. The charge in the Ordinal, "to hold up the weak, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, and seek the lost," seemed to him to have special bearing on missionary effort within the diocese. Soon after he had entered on his bishopric he sent a circular to his clergy and laity, seeking with burning words to kindle zeal in behalf of decayed and feeble parishes and destitute portions of the State, two entire counties of which—one-tenth of the

territory—being without a single clergyman. In order to secure united and efficient effort he urged, what he had planned within a few days after his election, stated collections, weekly where possible, in every congregation, with the use of the offertory. One sentence in this circular is in these words:

> The niggard in worldly things is despised and hated. Poverty's sacred claim is felt and owned by all. Is it our want of faith that makes spiritual poverty less effectual to move our sympathy, and hinders us from perceiving that a want of disposition to spend our time, and pains, and money for its relief is the worst kind of niggardliness? Surely this must be the case. And yet in proportion as it is, our souls are in imminent and awful danger.

In evidence of what may be done by united effort he says that

> an average offering of six cents a week by each communicant in the diocese would maintain twenty missionaries in the diocese, send ten to the Western States, and maintain the mission in Constantinople, now filled by one of our clergy.

During the forty years of his responsibility, again and again, in varied modes, this plea was repeated; which is equivalent to saying that it was never adequately responded to. The machinery for collecting and disbursing the offerings of the churches has been changed without any very marked difference in the result; what has been wanting is motive power—the power of motive. The pleadings of Bishop Pinkney for the tokens of Christian sympathies have been as urgent as were those of his predecessor. Each endeavored to enforce the Pauline precept that every man should lay by, and should give "as God hath prospered him." It is to be supposed that some have acted on the principle, else were faith dead; but it is as certain that the far greater number have not. In one of his tours the bishop notes that he called on, and was hospitably entertained by, maiden

sisters whose estate was such that, it was said, five thousand dollars' worth of wood might be cut from it yearly with advantage; they called themselves strong churchwomen, yet their joint subscription to the support of their parish was five dollars. Another almost ludicrous instance of what the bishop calls niggardliness was given in 1852 by a rector of a calculating turn of mind. He had been estimating what is called the worth of his parishioners, whom he characterizes as being in church "always respectful and attentive," and found—as he reported to the Convention—that they "do not contribute, on an average, one-half mill in the dollar for the support of the Gospel." The rector speaks of the average. The bishop, referring to a generous act, says: "Mingled emotions have been excited in my mind by witnessing the disproportionate contributions of a few to works of charity and piety, in which many are as deeply interested as they and all are bound to bear their part."

What would not now be the condition of the diocese if Bishop Whittingham's conviction had been shared and his practice followed? His practice followed! for what he recommended he did. All his days, each member of his family on every Sunday took something to church as an offering to God, from a purse kept by him for that purpose.

We have seen that he was ready to do battle in behalf of the heathen, and other instances might be given of his zeal in their cause. But twenty-four years' experience as a bishop seem to have at least modified his judgment of the expediency of diverting effort from destitute home wastes to foreign fields. In 1864 he wrote to Professor Johnson, of the General Seminary:

> The constant pressure of heathenism at home is such that I have but little enthusiasm to spare for that branch of the Church work which (happily, no doubt) enlists so much in others.

And again, at an earlier date, referring to a student now a bishop in China, he wrote:

I am not unthankful for the privilege thus granted of sending out one in that little company that are to do battle for Christ among the ten thousand times ten thousand of besotted infidels. But oh, how we need at home men willing to go out into the length and breadth of the land, not asking what shall I eat or wherewithal shall I be clothed, but trusting God that he will see that his workmen get their hire, and thrusting willing sickles into fields everywhere—here in Maryland at least—white for the harvest.

To carry on missionary work such clergymen are needed as have not only received a theological education but are willing to endure hardness, and are fitted by previous training for the hardships inseparable from clerical poverty. Year after year Bishop Whittingham reported to the Convention that some destitute place had been relieved, and that in many other localities congregations might be gathered and, in time, churches built, if only he could procure the men to do the work.* His aim in saying this was in part to stir up Christians to a sense of their obligation to give more liberally. His intimate acquaintance with the training of the clergy made him well aware that it was not simply men that were needed, but, under the circumstances, men very different from the body of those who year by year receive orders. Men go to our seminaries without the exact discipline of mind that would best fix them for entrance upon theological studies, and men leave the Seminary with other expectations than trust that God will see that his workmen get their hire. Although much in the habit of appealing to faith, the bishop did not

* "Nowhere is the want of a native clergy, born to the soil and trained to the manners and habits of the people, more severely felt than in the southern counties of our two Shores. If the Church in Maryland be not careful to raise up sons for their supply, and if her sons, as they come forward to assume the high trusts of the holy ministry, have not zeal enough and respect for the order of God's providence which has called them to the work in this portion of the field to make them willing to endure the privations and encounter the discouragements peculiar to those counties, I know not what, under a special manifestation of divine interference which it would be wicked presumption to expect, can save them from a slow, perhaps, but certain, ultimate loss of the participation of the means of grace."—*Convention Address*, 1848.

expect to find the men who alone could have done the work which he saw to be waiting for the right man. The utmost he could hope for in the beginning was to raise up and train workmen fitted for the Master's use. It has been seen how thankful he was made, in the last days of his professorial course, by being told by some of the pupils who had been much under his influence that they had formed that association which in the end, with less than one-half their first number, laid the foundations of Nashotah. What he so highy approved when he was first consulted he would have been very glad to foster in his own diocese, and he entertained the hope to attempt in Maryland what his young friends purposed, but modified so as to suit circumstances different from those of the Western States. It is not known how soon the wish took a definite form, but in some shape it was before his mind from the first, as is shown by correspondence, touching their uncertainties, with some of the Nashotah men who looked up to him for counsel and sympathy. Some years passed before he could see even a promise of the possibility of accomplishing his wish to have something like to what Nashotah was in its beginning, a "little seminary" of his own, a school for candidates for orders, where lads looking forward to becoming clergymen, and having little or no means of their own, could be prepared for future studies, or others in like circumstances but more advanced in knowledge could spend a portion of their time as admitted candidates under the direction of the bishop, and so be better prepared for the General Seminary, or if necessary pass their whole course under his guidance, a part of his plan being that the students should pass some of their time in labor in order to maintain as far as possible a spirit of manly independence,* and also to save them from the trials which they who have lived lives of ease must endure if they become poor clergymen.

*See a letter to Rev. D. S. Miller, September, 1856; also one to Bishop Odenheimer, November 20, 1862.

At length the bishop found one who was willing to make the attempt to carry out his wishes, the Rev. G. F. Worthington, a Marylander by birth, who by amiable qualities and zeal had gained his affections and confidence. Mr. Worthington possessed some independent means which he was ready to risk, else even the attempt could not have been made. In a beautiful country near the village Catonsville, six or seven miles from Baltimore, eighty acres of land were secured for a dairy farm, "the Grange." * Here Mr. Worthington and a few aspirants for orders established themselves, among them attending to the farm. With Mr. Worthington was soon associated the Rev. Adolphus Frost, a deacon, a German of high culture. Besides teaching their few pupils, the two clergymen acted as missionaries in the neighborhood. The German gathered a congregation of his own countrymen, while by Mr. Worthington was laid the foundation of the now flourishing parish of St. Timothy's.

This promise ended in disappointment so far as regarded the primary object, the training of clergymen. The dairy was not profitable; Mr. Worthington begged that an ordinary academy might be added to the school in order to its maintenance; then he was attacked by a disease which made the abandonment of his undertaking a necessity, and Mr. Frost was drawn away by the solicitations of the Bishop of New Jersey. During two years St. Timothy's Hall was a drain on the slender means of the bishop, after which it passed into the hands of the Rev. Libertus Van Bokkelin. During several years the bishop continued to be visitor of the school, but his functions as such became merely nominal, for the new rector having purchased the property and assumed all responsi-

* On April 15, 1844, the bishop wrote to Dr. Kerfoot: ". . . I expect a Maryland Nashotah to go into operation this week—a farm of eighty acres, with a clergyman and six young men in preparatory stages of study, maintaining themselves and spreading the Church in some half dozen localities in the vicinity, within six miles of Baltimore."

bility, it was but right that his views respecting the management should prevail. The bishop would have preferred a school that should not have seemed to be a rival to the diocesan college, and should have met the wants of those who could not afford the expenses at St. James's. But the aims of Mr. Van Bokkelin were more ambitious, or, being a thorough man of business, he knew better than to run the risk of loss by a cheap academy. Under his direction St. Timothy's was very successful until the war of secession interrupted its career, and afterward its chief buildings were swept away by fire. The little seminary for poor clerics had grown into what the bishop in vain protested against—a college having a military drill—and so became —what could have been as little desired as anticipated—an efficient aid to the cause of secession in its first struggles. The students were, many of them, from the Southern States. When the war broke out very few of those who had taken up arms were acquainted with the use of arms excepting as sportsmen; then students of St. Timothy's, even the boys of the last class, became drill-masters.

One who began his ministerial life as the spiritual teacher of children, and who labored so long in the interests of children, never lost sight of the truth that there is no preaching of the Gospel so efficient as leading the young in the paths of peace. With his entrance on his bishopric began efforts to establish church schools of a high character. These were in a short time successful as regards a school for girls. An association of gentlemen, to meet, probably, a need felt in their own families, had established a school for girls, and had erected large and suitable buildings in a healthful and beautiful region a dozen miles from Baltimore, near what was then Ellicott's Mills, and is now, after the American fashion, Ellicott City. The trustees of this, the Patapsco Institute, offered to the bishop the use of their property on the condition of his maintaining a proper school under his own supervision. The offer was gladly

accepted at once. In a few months, under the tuition of Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, such a school was established as became a credit to the State, and, as near as could be, met the wishes of the trustees and at the same time of the diocesan and visitor, for, with the culture demanded by the wealthy for their daughters, was joined the more needed training in church ways by a resident chaplain. Seed here sown has borne abundant fruit to God's glory in the advancement of his Church. Mr. Phelps was head of the family. In 1849 the burden fell wholly upon his widow, who continued to be principal until 1856, with an increasing reputation for all that should characterize a thorough teacher. The tender affection with which she speaks of her "friend and brother," and the warm interest she shows in every memorial of him, is pleasing testimony to what Bishop Whittingham was to his fellow-workers. The bishop continued to be visitor of the Patapsco Institute while it was under the care of the successor of Mrs. Phelps; but, while still an efficient aid in Christian and churchly education, it is no longer in any sense responsible to the bishop. The Hannah More Academy is now the diocesan school for girls.

Other schools were established in Baltimore under the fostering care of the bishop. In especial St. Mary's Hall, so long as its rector, the Rev. Mr. Sargeant, lived, was very efficient as a church school for girls.

It remains to speak of the effort in behalf of Christian education which, perhaps more than all else of episcopal duty, caused anxious care to the bishop—from which he confidently looked for the crown of his rejoicing, and the failure of which was the great sorrow of his life as bishop.

It has been remarked that the person on whom the bishop first laid hands in ordination was Theodore B. Lyman, who at the Seminary had been of his household. The young deacon having been transferred to Maryland, found work in Hagerstown. Sharing fully the bishop's estimate of church training, Mr. Lyman was prompt to improve an op-

portunity to establish a school for boys. A few miles from Hagerstown is Fountain Rock, a large and commodious dwelling of one of the wealthier families of the county. Its name is appropriately taken from a very large spring or fountain which gushes out from the living rock into a natural basin of limestone. A sufficient number of acres were connected with the dwelling—probably the remains of a large estate. This mansion was for sale. A few gentlemen of Washington County, through their rector, Mr. Lyman, offered to purchase it for the diocese, "provided satisfactory arrangements could be made for the establishment there of a diocesan school on the strictest principles of the Church, of a high literary character, and limited to a moderate rate of charges." The bishop accepted the offer and at once began a search for a proper head and for subordinate teachers. It is not necessary to follow him in all his efforts. At one time he thought that he had secured the direction of his school by Dr. Muhlenberg, then the most successful of church teachers. Fountain Rock was to be not a dependence on but, through its head, connected with College Point. The tried training of St. Paul's College was to be transferred to the new Maryland school. In the end something far better followed the failure of this scheme. Dr. Muhlenberg gave up his associate, Mr. Kerfoot, and a certain number of teachers; and others were added to these who were versed in all that the bishop wished to secure. On the part of all, from the head to the lowest, their entrance on their new duties was a venture of faith: their aim was not self-advancement, but God's glory.

In his first address to the Convention the bishop announced that he had undertaken to found the school, and by reference to an able report made to the diocese in 1837, was saved all argument touching the obligation resting on the Church to provide for the educating her own children.

In 1842, claiming confidence in the school and liberal

pecuniary donations for its first establishment, the bishop said:

It is no experiment that our school is to undertake at the risk of injury to the first subjects. A system, the growth of years of study, labor, and experience, is to be transplanted in the full vigor of adult perfection by those who have grown up with its growth and have been thoroughly molded into its character and trained in all its workings. I have had full opportunity of observing the result of that system of training upon the youths who have shared its benefits, and can confidently testify that it is equalled by none within my knowledge. . . . I can bespeak from the clergy and laity of the diocese a united and hearty effort to bring the youth of our community within the influence of the contemplated school. Based on religion and carried out in strictest adherence to the formularies of the Church, the education there to be given will bear comparison, in point of all secular advantages, with any to be obtained in our country.

So far as resolutions go the bishop's course was supported by the Convention, but his earnest prayer for substantial aid was little more than listened to. As has always been the case in Maryland, which perhaps is not in this respect an exceptional diocese, whenever anything is to be done by the expenditure of money, a few give freely, gladly, the majority with an unwilling hand or not at all. Through the aid of the liberal few, and by the assumption of personal responsibility which caused him many hours of anxiety, the school was opened.

The language of the bishop to his Convention in 1843, though not despondent, shows natural tokens of disappointment.

The diocesan school so cordially taken up by the last Convention has not received the general support which the action of the Convention warranted me in expecting. The pecuniary difficulties of the year have no doubt been, in great degree, the reason. By them the agent of the Convention has been prevented from prosecuting his work to any great extent. The consequence was that when the appointed time for opening the school arrived, I had to choose be-

tween the relinquishment of the design and utter loss of all that had been done, or the assumption of all the necessary expenditure for the furnishment of the establishment on my personal responsibility. Mindful of the precept to owe no man anything, and possessed of no resources besides those derived for my support from the diocese, I was in a painful dilemma, but finally resolved to go forward, having a reasonable certainty in the amount secured to me by the diocese that the tradesmen to whom I engaged myself would not suffer, whatever might be the case with my own family. The school was accordingly furnished and opened on the first Monday in October. Another disappointment was then experienced in the small number of scholars offering. In one respect, indeed, this was an advantage, as the few could be more effectually trained and disciplined to be the nucleus of the future body. . . . In the meanwhile the rector and assistants have been serving the Church not only without any kind of compensation, but at their own charge. I leave it to the generosity of the churchmen of Maryland whether such a state of things shall continue.

The self-sacrifice with which the foundation of St. James's was laid ought not to be overlooked by those who care for noble deeds. The meed of praise should not be withheld as one reads in the bishop's address that the rector and his assistants served the Church at their own charge. Nor should his expression be taken as without meaning where he says: "The tradesmen would not suffer, whatever might be the case with my own family." His family literally suffered at this time. A near friend, having perceived this, sent what was intended to be spent for house comforts. The bishop received the money as a godsend for St. James's. And when Mrs. Whittingham, her patience exhausted, exclaimed: "Mr. Whittingham, at this rate you will leave your children without butter to their bread," she received the provoking answer: "Well, Hannah, our Father has taught us to pray for bread, and I doubt not He will give it us. If it should be His good pleasure that we should eat it dry, I suppose we can learn to do without butter." At one time, when there seemed to be no way of escape, prayer for guidance was fully answered. Information came to him,

casually, that there was at his disposal as ordinary a legacy amounting to about enough to relieve the present distress, and which could be applied to the uses of the school. A letter to Mr. Lyman, dated August 2, 1841, to be found on p. 299, refers to this perplexity and the deliverance from it.

The school at Fountain Rock was opened as St. James's Hall in October, 1842. Two years later, February, 1844, it was incorporated as a college. The Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, who was the head of the school from the beginning, continued to be the president of the college until its close in 1864. He then became President of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., which position he filled until made the first Bishop of Pittsburg in January, 1866.

Bishop Whittingham was fortunate in securing as his fellow-laborer so able an educator and so sympathizing a friend as Dr. Kerfoot. The reader may have frequent occasion to note how very strong was their bond of affection and confidence. As the governor of boys and young men, the doctor had had experience which the bishop lacked, and often in the direction of college matters or settlement of difficulties his judgment was deferred to in a manner which marked the generous mind of his superior. There never occurred, so far as can be traced, the least thing to mar harmony of action during twenty-two years. Each appreciated the excellence of the other, and more and more learned to lean in confidence on his friend.

The College of St. James is now no more (writes the Rev. Hall Harrison, an alumnus), but the faithful work of Dr. Kerfoot and his fellow-laborers has by no means perished without result. His old pupils, now scattered over many States of the Union, would testify to his extraordinary ability as a teacher. He had the invaluable gift of making his scholars think for themselves: he did not treat their minds like so many buckets, into which a certain amount of information was to be poured. With strong convictions on all important subjects, he also had the courage of his convictions, and his influence was felt throughout every department of the institution over which he presided.

In January, 1857, one of the principal buildings of the college, known as "Kemp Hall," was burnt to the ground, and after serious consideration it was decided to remove the college to a site about twenty miles from Baltimore, on the Northern Central Railway. The land was purchased, the buildings (after a beautiful plan) were actually begun, a considerable endowment was raised, and at last St. James's seemed about to begin a new and vigorous career with every prospect of permanent success. Churchmen in Maryland gave every indication that they at length appreciated the educational labors and zeal of their bishop and of the rector of St. James's College, but the outbreak of the war in 1861 checked this excellent scheme just as it was on the eve of accomplishment, and three years later the continuance of the college in Maryland became an impossibility. In its desolating progress the war had swept over its very grounds.

The final abandonment of the attempt to keep up the college was thus feelingly announced by the bishop in his address to the Convention of 1865:

> By removal the diocese has lost twelve presbyters. Three of them have gone from us because, in the good providence of God, the work of our diocesan college has been stopped by the evils of the times, and other fields of labor demanded the exercise of those gifts which had been so laboriously and usefully employed in the hard, unthankful, yet eminently successful work by which the College of St. James had established a name far beyond those usually attained by an institution of so few years' growth. I have no words adequate to express my sense of the indebtedness under which the diocese lies to the Rev. Dr. Kerfoot for the twenty-two years of prayer and labor which he has devoted to the establishment and support of the college and its work. You need no recapitulation of the sad story of the struggle of the last three years. It seemed hardly credible that so long a struggle should have been maintained. Nothing but the extraordinary degree of confidence which the rector and faculty of the College of St. James had succeeded in securing could have enabled them to carry on its operations in the midst of the concentrated horrors of border war, during successive years of protracted

hope that peace might still enable the institution to resume its operations in their full extent and increased efficiency. At last that hope gave way, and in the dark lowering of the summer of 1864, the present and future seemed alike unfavorable to further effort to prolong continuance of work for which there was no longer any reasonable prospect of support.

I had informed the Convention of that year that help to the college through personal influence from abroad had alone enabled it to bear up against enormous difficulties, which no foresight could prevent nor any energy and ability successfully encounter unassisted. The Convention saw fit to take no action in the matter. To save the property of the institution from total absorption in overwhelming debt, there was no course left except that of dissolution and dispersion for a time. The events of the summer hastened the process, under pressure of military occupation. The faculty, already each beset by applications for the bestowal of his useful labor elsewhere, bade the work and the place a sad farewell, and with the remnants of their personal properties rescued from spoliation, betook themselves to quieter scenes of occupation promising more real support and more adequate returns of usefulness. . . .

What your bishop lost in all this process, brethren, I shall not attempt to tell. For him it makes a large part of the work of a quarter of a century a blank. No future on earth holds out promise of any compensation. There can be no replacement for him of the bonds of almost life-long growth that have been broken.

It may seem strange that all hearts were not moved by these touching words, but, to one who can appreciate the political feeling that then influenced every consideration, a fact may help to explain the entire lack of response on the part of the diocese to the longing desires of the bishop. With the exception of a single tutor, all the teachers at the college were, with the bishop, politically Northern men. During the last year of its existence its support came from men in the North, given on the expressed condition that the "loyalty" of the faculty should continue to be as pronounced. In one of his letters to Dr. Kerfoot the bishop states that three-fourths of the trustees are disloyal men, and that the addition of another in the place of Dr. Coxe,

who had left the diocese, would insure his withdrawal from all connection with the institution.

St. James's is now but an excellent grammar school, at Fountain Rock. The foundation walls of the new college await the fresh zeal of a new generation.

Of the many letters written by Bishop Whittingham to the rector of St. James's, a few are here printed, chiefly to give some idea of the minuteness of the oversight which the bishop took in the working of the school, especially at first. His advice was sought on all subjects, from the highest spiritual concerns to trivial details of household matters while the institution was yet an experiment.

LETTERS.

THE REV. JOHN B. KERFOOT TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM.

St. James's Hall, November 7, 1842.

Right Rev. and Dear Sir:

I suppose that it must now be time for me to inform you how all things are going on with us here.

And first let me inform you of a change in one particular—the publication of your opening sermon. Of my continued wish to see it in print and circulated, I need not assure you; but I find that a pamphlet containing it and an appendix giving an outline, etc., of the hall, etc., will cost for a moderate number of copies $60, and this is a sum which, however well spent, could we afford it at all on this object, you, I know, would be the first one to say could not be honestly expended now. All we dare do is to print a brief outline, neatly but cheaply, to say that we are *now* out on the voyage, and how the ship is managed.

And to carry on the figure a little farther, the wind blows pleasantly, and the crew—seventeen—are in good order and spirits. Everything goes well, very well. Good order, industry, and cheerfulness mark every day. One only measure must be an exception. [Then follows an account of the removal for grave misconduct of one of the boys, who, as the same letter mentions, was subsequently received back again on a new probation.] I know it will make you share largely our gladness to know that there seems to be more than a merely negative goodness among the boys. I trust there are signs, not to be mistaken, of spiritual good among them. All are regular and externally reverent in religious duties, some are very seriously impressed, and I look forward to the period of your next visitation here with longing, in the confident hope by God's grace to have some ready for confirmation. One dear little fellow . . . from Baltimore, seemed strangely gloomy for more than a week, and

I thought it homesickness. Two or three times he (as I have since comprehended his object) threw himself in my way to seek conversation, but accident prevented. On Sunday last, I again noticing his gloom, called him aside, and found that he had something which he wished to say to me; took him into my study, and after a great deal of leading he came to the point, and bursting into tears said: "May I be confirmed when the bishop comes?" "Why do you wish it?" "Oh! I am a bad boy," etc. And he really gave every evidence of a very deep and intelligent sense of sin and resolution to be and do all that he should as a Christian hereafter. He is young, just thirteen, but I could only tell him (as his whole conduct has always been consistent) that if he still felt and acted as he should, I could not say no when you came. Two or three others are such as to make me cherish great hopes of their fitness. T. M. is a model of industry and cheerful order. All among my boys is bright; so among my aids. Trevett is a very active and apparently successful *teacher;* this, as to him a new sphere, you will be glad to learn. We all jog along cheerfully and pleasantly together. Servants have been a formidable annoyance—more than I can here tell you. Stoves have not yet come; why I cannot imagine; I ordered them a month ago. The chapel is provided with hangings and a (promised) carpet as presents. I have not yet ordered communion plate. We have used borrowed articles. All things go so well that we are quite ready to see our "few vacancies" filled, as it takes some bread and butter to feed such a household. . . . F. not coming for lack of means. Mr. M. will send his boy as soon as he can raise the funds. However, we shall get along. I say if God gives us his best blessings—*i.e.*, of his grace—he will not withhold those least costly if we do our duty. Edward is well and doing well. Please let me know, if you can, when we may hope for your next visit. My very kind regards and those of Mrs. Kerfoot to Mrs. Whittingham and yourself.

I am, most affectionately and obediently, yours,

JOHN B. KERFOOT.

TO THE REV. JOHN B. KERFOOT, ST. JAMES'S HALL, HAGERSTOWN, MD.

ANIMESSEK, December 17, 1842.

MY DEAR KERFOOT:

Your news and Lyman's, of the well-being and doing of all at the school, rejoices me. I need not say *how much.* Especially your

most encouraging anticipations of spiritual good to our precious charge is gladdening to my heart. Well do you say that He who *thus* blesses us will not suffer us to be *hurt* by trials in things temporal. I was surprised to learn that you had only seventeen—supposing at least twenty-three to be with you. I have used my endeavors to beat up recruits on both Shores, but find the horrible condition of the times, and of this State in particular, a terrible impediment. Nevertheless I am sure of several accessions in the spring, and find everywhere eager inquiry concerning "our school," and the most friendly interest manifested. . . . In the meanwhile funds have come in, as I hoped and trusted, to meet my family expenses, and *if* my salary is duly paid, as it has been, I can meet the payments for furniture by instalments as they fall due. That I shall be enabled to do so I cannot have the slightest doubt, after the manner in which I have been brought through so far. It is a blessing to be reduced to the last pinch, as I have found again and again, and that blessing may be designed us in this matter. If so, let us be thankful for it, and pray for grace to wait God's own time. The laity in Baltimore are talking of stirring in the matter, bad as the times are. How and when I shall learn when I get back, if spared to do so.

In the meanwhile my visitations, as usual, cheer me to renewed diligence and zeal. Were *I* only fit for my work, there is a glorious field whitening to the harvest. Everywhere inquiry is making about the Church. Everywhere the sects are attacking her. Everywhere accessions are making from their ranks. In very many parts spiritual life is developing itself and spreading in no ordinary degree. Even the late fracas at Baltimore seems likely to do good from what I learn in these quarters. Those from whom, if any, I should have expected opposition, are decidedly changed for the better since my last visitation. I can only bow in wondering gratitude and say, "What hath the Lord done!"

. . . I am with you often in spirit, always in wish. When I can be with you in the body I cannot say until on my return to Baltimore. I sit down to arrange the business of next year. Tell Trevett if he wishes ordination at the spring season he will have to come down for it to Calvert County, where, in Bishop Claggett's old parish church, I expect then to ordain the bishop's grandson deacon, and a deacon from the Eastern Shore priest. If he will come then I want Lyman to come with him to present him, and prepared to spend the previous week in the parish where, with Lyman, McKenney, and others, I mean to make a grand onslaught for the

propagation of true Church principles on that occasion. The commission and duties of the ministry and wants of the Church and world and means of the Church to meet them will be very appropriate themes for Ember Week. But of this more hereafter. . . . To-morrow I look to ordain John Crosdale deacon, and a right true-hearted deacon of the *old school* churchman stamp, to the presbyterate. Tell *my dear* boy that I have a long story of adventure and *mis*adventure to send him when I get time, but *not to-night*. To *all* the boys, and Marshall and S. Levering in particular, I desire to be remembered. Affectionately yours,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

TO THE SAME.

"SYMBOLISM" IN THE CHAPEL SERVICES, ETC.

BALTIMORE, February 8, 1843.

MY DEAR KERFOOT:

. . . Your item of information about the discarded dressings of the chapel affords me a very desirable hook on which to hang a word of advice—not *necessary*, I am persuaded, but such as can *never* be *not seasonable*. Pray be very cautious about your externals. Do not give in to the desire to *symbolism*. I have heard much from many quarters about the "popish doings" at St. James's. The least thing is perverted, distorted, magnified, until it becomes to the silly imaginations of the vulgar herd of soi-disant Protestants an enormous corruption. Pray eschew anything *capable* of such abuse, to the very extent of your ability. I have had to fight battle after battle for your candlestick already. If they had known of your hall-lamp burning all Christmas Day, it would have blown the Hall up. Dwight and Mrs. T. would ruin us could they have their way. Pray keep them with a right tight rein. You know *my* views in these matters; but we cannot afford to destroy such an undertaking as St. James's for the sake of those garnitures which can be most easily brought in when the school has established itself, as, please God, it *will* before many years or even months roll round. Charge Dwight, as he loves me, to behave himself, and beware of the oratory which I had to pull down with my own episcopal hands and all other such enormities. They are the very *bark* of Catholicity. Let us strive for the pith and sap. The bark will grow of itself afterward.

Need I say that you all have my most affectionate, continual remembrance? That it would give me as much pleasure as it is pos-

sible for *me* to have in writing a letter, to write full, overflowing sheets to each of you? That if I crowd all my remembrances into one poor scrawl, it is because fifty other things make it impossible for me to do that which I would?

Our pecuniary concerns look badly at present, but I am more encouraged now than I was on my first coming down, and confidently trust that before two years from this date, if the Lord will, we shall have our heads fairly and safely above water.

God bless you all.

Affectionately and faithfully yours,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

In 1843 the rector of St. James's had several severe attacks of bronchitis which seemed likely to incapacitate him for both teaching and preaching. During the summer and autumn he made a short visit to England, with the hope of restoring his health. He returned in November, but his malady was only partially cured. During his absence there was serious trouble and insubordination at the Hall, owing, it must be admitted, chiefly to the incapacity of the staff of teachers to maintain order without the presence of the head upon whom they had been relying. The arrival of the rector easily set matters straight, and the doings both of the boys and the masters during that period were always in after years looked back upon with great amusement by all concerned. Out of a number of letters referring to this subject, the following note, written from the Hall by the bishop, who, at great inconvenience, had hurried there to do what he could to cast oil on the troubled waters, is all that need be brought to light:

ST. JAMES'S, Saturday, November 18, 1843.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER:

I have stuck to the school to the very last moment, and leave with the greatest regret at not having seen you before I leave. God, who has so ordered it, has ordered it in love, no doubt, and his will be done! I should have had very much to *say* to you which I hardly think it *right*, and believe it decidedly not best, to write.

Your eye and head and voice as a father confessor of all, from

least to greatest, are greatly wanted—but other labor you may spare yourself. After a week or two I do not think you will have much trouble. *Perhaps* one or two of the new boys will have to go. The others you will soon get in order.

The *brethren* need more self-denial, rigid self-discipline, devotion. There is too much chat, too much gossip, too little example of *minute* and *punctilious* obedience and regularity, too little study and private prayer.

A *steward* is absolutely necessary. Sam has done most nobly, but neither he nor you can do what an honest, industrious, active, ingenious Northern man could do. In fiscal matters such a man is all-important to the school. Everything else I think you have—a good staff of teachers (except music and drawing), a noble matron [Mrs. Tilghman], an excellent mistress of the wardrobe (for of that opinion I am most decidedly, and beg you to be very slow and observant in coming to any other, if perchance you should be moved thereto), and a complement enough to fill every bed, and not the worst that might be as boys run now-a-days.

A good clock is an indispensable article. The school suffers for want of it. The badness of the present arrangement of the bell is also a source of discomfort and disorder. Sundry other items of this kind there are of which I wanted to *talk*. . . . And now, as chapel bell is about to ring, I must say farewell. Need I say that you have the hearty, hearty prayers of

Your affectionate and faithful

W. R. WHITTINGHAM?

P. S.—I have taken the liberty to take away three volumes of your Cranmer, of which I am making a use designed *pro bono ecclesiæ*.

W. R. W.

BALTIMORE, May 13, 1845.

MY DEAR KERFOOT:

While we have much cause for mutual congratulation on the final settlement of the title to St. James's, your letter has given me much uneasiness, at which you will not be surprised when I tell you that I had no expectation of any draft on me, while you announce it as if it were a matter of course that a part of your negotiation is a draft on me for $450 with interest, at sixty days. . . .

The negotiation—as, to my misery, everything connected with St. James's has—has turned out much more unfavorable to us than we calculated, and therefore than you stated. The building is to

cost more, the deficiency is greater, etc. From your subsequent letters I could not perceive how this was to be met, but supposed you had the arrangements made, and conscious of my own incompetence in such matters, did not like to trouble you by asking for more details. I am now unhappily undeceived and enlightened. But what I shall do I know not. If my salary continues to be paid me regularly, I am to receive $750 on June 17th, so that the draft need not be protested. But with that money I was to pay Edward's tuition, my yearly bookseller's bill, a quarter's house rent, a quarter's family expenses, and $100 for a quarter's rent of St. Timothy's. Judge whether I can. Most cheerfully I would, in an instant, give double or treble the amount to St. James's to accomplish the settlement now effected. But how can I? I do not know what to do. Do not write again on this subject, as you are to be down so soon, but when you come bring with you my letters relative to this matter that we may see how far I am to blame for my unpleasant position. At any rate I attach no blame of any kind to you. All my uneasiness is not for what is done, but for what is to be done.

Do not let this distress you. Although, I confess, my own practice does not bear out my precept. I am sadly thrown back in my indisposition by a very wretched day and night, mostly, however, owing to far other and worse cares than these pecuniary matters. Still, from the inmost depths of my heart I do believe, and do take comfort in the belief—God, who has so wonderfully led us hitherto, will not desert us if we trust in him and do our duty. That we may have light and grace to do that must be our joint fervent prayer. . .

W. R. W.

JANUARY 19, 1846.

MY DEAR KERFOOT:

To say that your late accounts from St. James's have given me the very highest gratification would be saying very little; they have afforded me some of the deepest, richest enjoyment I have had since I have filled my present uneasy place, if not ever. I cannot divest myself of the feeling one has in a pleasant morning dream—"this is very delightful, but how long until I wake?" Then again I am nervously anxious that there be no heated, evanescent religiosity among the boys, no "revival" in the much-abused technical sense of the word, no hasty committal to superficial emotions to be followed by the slow dry rot of hypocrisy and crumbling formalism. I have seen letters from —— which certainly went to allay such anxiety, and were, each in its way, as satisfactory as I could desire. Of E.'s

laconic communications to me I wish I could say the same. They are cold, short, dry. There may be feeling of the right kind beneath, but if there is it is carefully hidden. I would rather it was so than that he should have come out in the new phase of garrulous confession and profession, at which I should have been more than uneasy. But though he speaks firmly I could wish there were some indications of spiritual humility and sensitiveness. To you, with your knowledge of boys and boyish "developments," I look with confidence for interference to prevent on his part a mere profession for fashion's or for form's sake—because it is fit, decent, and proper —or a thoughtless, reckless engagement in religious duties, so that a deep sense of religious privilege and responsibility, of his own need of grace, and of the fulness and richness of the supplies of grace—— Thus far when I was interrupted, and perhaps it was as well. You know all that I can say, and I trust you, in the concerns which as a father and as a bishop are the dearest to me of all others, implicitly. . . . W. R. W.

NEWARK, August 27, 1855.

DEAR KERFOOT:

. . . I was greatly pleased, the other day, by hearing from one present on the occasion, that lately, in Boston, in a large company, conversation turning on Southern college students, their negligence, turbulence, etc., Professor Jared Sparks said: "By the by, there is one institution at the South which has sent some remarkable exceptions. It is, I believe, in Maryland, and called the College of S. James. Four or five young men have come from it to Cambridge, and have been without exception among the best prepared and the best mannered men we have. In all respects they did the very highest honor to their training." . . . You may imagine how much value I set on such testimony. W. R. W.

TO THE REV. T. B. LYMAN.

REJOICES IN AN UNEXPECTED DELIVERANCE IN A MONEY STRAIT.

BALTIMORE, August 2, 1841.

DEAR THEODORE:

My heart is so full that my hand will hardly guide my pen. Truly goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life.

Your last letter made me truly downcast, but, thank God, I was enabled to say and feel with St. Paul, "perplexed but not in despair." A little inquiry satisfied me that an attempt to raise the

money by subscription or collection here, at present, would be utterly hopeless. So I gave that up at once. Other plans I cast about, and consulted—and others; none offered that was feasible. So it went day after day, and letter after letter from Kerfoot pained me more and more, as it seemed to be becoming inevitable that at least a year must go by, and the present great interest that is felt throughout the diocese in Fountain Rock be allowed to die away, and possibly even the opportunity of securing Muhlenberg's co-operation lost forever. Still, thank God, he enabled me to remember that "in quietness and confidence shall be thy strength," and that if we were disappointed it must be for good, while if it were for God's glory and his Church's advantage that the school shall go on, he is ever able to open a way.

Sure enough he *has* opened it!

With a heavy heart I have gone about my business. . . . Here was fresh trial by the contrast it presented to the state of Fountain Rock. . . . At last, an hour ago, at breakfast, I was told that there is a fund at my disposal . . . to help the education of young men. I went to look at the papers and found that 'tis the legacy of a clergyman of the diocese, which, principal and interest, amounts to $2,100. . . . For the remaining $900 Mr. D. has no doubt that a very few individuals will make it up before the nine months shall have expired. Here, then, we are through! Thanks and glory be to God! Now I can meet Kerfoot with a smile. . . .

Yours, W. R. W.

CHAPTER XII.

DIOCESAN CONTROVERSIES.

1842–1850.

The leaders of the party who, because they could not elect a man of their choice, had accepted Dr. Whittingham as their bishop, had given him assurance of their conviction that with God's blessing he would unite the diocese so long divided. The first visitations of the new bishop seemed to justify their expectations. Nowhere had he been received in a manner which did not, to say the least, encourage the hope that there was nothing to hinder mutual confidence. In some places he could note the yielding of prejudices. Of those who had feared to trust a man chosen by High Churchmen, some early became, and continued to be, among his warmest friends and most steadfast upholders. This was the result of what was real on his part, not of the arts of one seeking popularity. Going for the first time among his spiritual children he was ready to be pleased, and this in itself insured the giving pleasure. His letters show this. Warmth of manner, earnestness in preaching, a habit of subordinating points of difference to those held in common, were calculated to beget confidence. "He may be a High Church bishop," said a Methodist minister who had heard him preach, "but he is a true Christian."

In the course of time, and no very long time, the convictions of the man made themselves to be felt and produced a natural consequence. Maryland had been divided probably from the beginning. Very wide differences existed

among both clergy and laity in the diocese. There were High Churchmen and those in contrast with them who would recognize no term as designating their position but that of Evangelical, perhaps not unwilling that the inference should be drawn that their opponents did not preach the Evangel. A prophet of their own has said: "The Gospel before the Church is the great principle of evangelical Episcopalians." One who makes this "great principle" his boast must have greater sympathy with those whom he deems Gospel Christians, although separated by what he chooses to consider the unimportant matter of church organization, than he can have with those who are joined to him by the outward bond of the Church, but who uphold "a sacramental system by which the Gospel is made of none effect." To assert anything which may be interpreted to be a condemnation of those "Gospel Christians" who reject episcopacy is to wound their evangelical brother who is in the Episcopal Church. One patent mark, therefore, of an evangelical Episcopalian is a rejection of the apostolic claims of a bishop, and a fear of episcopal prerogative as akin to popery. The High and Low parties united in electing as their bishop a man who undoubtedly did believe in the apostolic succession and what is implied by the term, and also in what is called "the sacramental system," if by this is meant that sacraments are means of grace, means of applying to the soul the blessings made known by the Gospel; but their almost unanimous vote did not imply a surrender of principles which had been the occasion of long previous contest: exhausted party spirit merely slumbered. Perhaps when voting for Dr. Whittingham some of the Evangelical party were deceived by their hopes; afterward some said that they had been betrayed by the assurances of the doctor's friends; and some had the hardihood to assert that he had himself given pledges, only to violate them when his end had been gained. It was this charge, too readily accepted by blind anger, that made necessary a statement of

the circumstances connected with his election, and a full relation of the visit to Baltimore while it was yet possible to correct mistaken assumptions. If any had misjudged respecting Dr. Whittingham's tenets, they were soon undeceived by the bishop's teaching in private and in the pulpit. He did endeavor, and he never ceased to endeavor, to so associate church brethren holding different opinions as that they should together uphold the common faith and together work in the common service of their Lord; but his teaching was not therefore colorless. In a letter written soon after taking up his residence in Baltimore he is seen to have been jubilant over so small a matter as the bringing together three congregrations for one service in which all were interested. Both his spirit and the former tone of brotherly feeling among the congregations are shown by this fact. There was left enough of the old distrust and dislike to give him in after years many an hour of distress of mind. And yet, with a simplicity which they who recognize wonder at, and which no experience of men could change, to the last he was ready to place trust in men of all parties, and was continually pained when he discovered to what he was supposed to have given pledge when he gave that trust. His simplicity was like that of the great lawgiver—"he supposed that his brethren would have understood . . . . but they understood not." The position which he desired to keep was one which men will not assent to when under strong feeling they range themselves in party lines. It was soon clearly shown that Bishop Whittingham did not belie all his past life—that is, that with all his earnest preaching of the need of faith and holiness he was what others called a High Churchman. Then party spirit again raised its head, and opposition succeeded what had given a hope of joint effort in the diocese, and so had cheered a heart oppressed by responsibilities felt to be, with every aid, too heavy. The measure of confidence which had been given him was withdrawn by a portion of the clergy and of the

laity. His teaching was tested by party shibboleths, and he was understood to mean, not simply what he had said but all that another might choose to perceive hidden under the expression. His acts were weighed in the uneven balance always used by excited religionists, and his explanations were simply not believed. The name "Puseyite" was fixed on him, and open denunciations of the Romanizing Oxford tracts were taken by the faithful as warnings against the errors of their bishop. This fact, and how it affected him who was thus covertly attacked, is shown by a letter addressed to one who three years earlier, referring to their former relation as teacher and pupil, had written: "Few things in the past afford me more satisfaction than the kindness of those whose intelligence and acquirements have given a turn to my thoughts in those studies which belong to theology."

MARCH 29, 1843.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:

I hasten to disabuse your mind of the notion that I took any "personal offence" at the treatment of which I complained to ——. I humbly trust that I have learned in a school that teaches the lesson not to take offence even where injury is supposed to have been received.

I do suppose that you have injured me, both personally and officially, by your farewell discourse, on your own representation of it now made. That you intended direct reprehension, still less contumely or insult, I did not for a moment imagine. Of that I believe you utterly incapable. But I supposed, what proves by your acknowledgment to be true, that at a time when you were ceasing your personal connection with your congregation and responsibility for it, you deemed it right to use language which you considered in part applicable to your and their bishop, and which, under the circumstances of the time, a great proportion of those who heard you must have considered to be entirely so, strongly condemnatory of views currently, but in a great part falsely, charged against him.

Otherwise than as a violation of your duty as a presbyter (a duty defined, not by article and canon but by the unwritten law of Christian love, forbearance, and humility) I cannot consider your course. But in so far as it has affected or may affect me, personally

or officially, you have my free and full forgiveness, and my hearty prayers that our Lord and judge may grant you his.

Your letters commendatory—one official, the other civil, to be used where my office would have no weight—have been waiting for you since the day you called. I send them with this, just as then enclosed.

With entire faithfulness and affection, your friend and brother,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

Not only by allusion in the pulpit was the bishop censured: he was assailed by name in a religious print as one bringing into the Church "concealed and covered Puseyism which seeks by gradual and indirect movements to establish another gospel." One evidence adduced was the fact that he multiplied sacramental occasions without limit! Another that he always claimed the right to pronounce absolution. The bishop had always exercised this privilege, when, in his diocese, another clergyman in his presence read the service, he did so after the example of Bishop Claggett, and believing it to be the mind of the Church as indicated in her rubrics in the communion service, but in following this custom he was willing to own himself indebted to the courtesy of the rector. A further proof of the charge was asserted to be the fact that "the time-honored title of our Protestant Episcopal Church is carefully excluded by the bishop from all his official documents." Which was not true at all.

BISHOP OF MARYLAND was the title assumed by Bishop Whittingham in his usual official signature.

What a bishop shall be called when he is formally addressed is indicated by the ordinal, "Reverend Father in God." No term specifying diocesan rule is prescribed. Only the General Convention in 1785, when as yet there was no bishop in the United States, recommended "That the bishops of this Church take the title of 'the Right Reverend A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D.,' and, as bishops, may have no other title, and may

not use such style as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedency." A fear of "My Lord Bishop," then felt, is here shown. Not being directed by law, each diocesan has followed his own judgment. The bishop first consecrated, Seabury, called himself Samuel, Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island; his successor, Jarvis, followed his example, and was known as Abraham, Bishop of Connecticut. The first bishop in Maryland sometimes, not always, took the title Bishop of Maryland, and so did the second bishop. Whenever Bishop Whittingham had occasion to affix his official signature to a document intended for the use of others than members of the Church, he always gave his title in full as recommended by the first General Convention, but on all other occasions he as uniformly used the briefer signature; not for brevity's sake, but, in part, as a protest. As he has himself said: "There is a gentleman pretending to the episcopate in this State who claims to have received exclusive jurisdiction from the Bishop of Rome, under the title of Archbishop of Baltimore. As against him, Bishop Whittingham designed to assert his own claim to be the bishop of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ in Maryland. And pray what just cause of complaint can his claim give any Protestant Episcopalian? No Episcopalian supposes that there is more than one bishop in Maryland. No Protestant Episcopalian doubts that Bishop Whittingham is the man."

The same purpose of "protest against the claim of the Roman schism to be the Catholic Church, a claim which is deceiving to their ruin uninstructed Protestants almost daily," prompted the wording of his certificate of confirmation. This makes known that "In the name of the holy and ever blessed Trinity, . . . and conformably with the godly order and administration of the Catholic Church of Christ in the United States of America, A. B. has this day received the seal of confirmation by laying on of hands with prayer," etc.

After the lapse of forty years it is hard to understand how men who repeated the creed as the expression of their own faith could have been so offended as they then were by this assertion of our claim to be Catholics. The former leader of the High Churchmen in Maryland, certainly a thorough churchman, remonstrated with the bishop when he first came to Maryland against the imprudence of the open use of the term Catholic. After a few years a clergyman, kindly counselling what he thought to be moderation, but which was sacrifice of principle, told him that his certificates, instead of being given to the confirmed, had been burned as popish. And later still, a bishop acting for the Bishop of Maryland gave to a rector copies of a different form, saying that he could not sign that of Bishop Whittingham, and rudely censuring the man whom he represented. This was at the time of the craze about Puseyism.

The bishop had received the burden of the episcopate having a lowly estimate of his own worth, and a just appreciation of his high calling as a successor to the apostles—for this he did not doubt a bishop to be. His title Bishop of Maryland was an assertion as well as a protest. He did not consider himself to be the confirmer in a certain number of parishes associated together under the name of a diocese. He believed that, sharing in the charge common to the episcopate, a district defined by the term Maryland had been committed to his special oversight, and that to the full extent of his ability and opportunities he was responsible to the Head of the Church for the Christian culture of all within the bounds of his diocese. Whether his mission were recognized or not he was sent to them. Other pastors and teachers shared the responsibility of preaching Christ, and possessed rights defined by the constitution of the Church, by Catholic usage, and by canons assented to by the episcopate; but yet he was the chief pastor and teacher—under Christ he was the head and others members of the Church within the territorial limits assigned to him; the diocese—that is,

the bishop with the subordinate clergy and laity whom they serve—being the churchly unit. If his estimate of the character and duties of a bishop were by any misunderstood, it should not have been; it had been given in his published letter on division of the diocese of New York. See Chapter VIII. What he wrote as a presbyter was the rule of his action as a bishop.

It followed from the bishop's estimate of his relation to the clergy and people that he prized the Office of Institution of Ministers as marking that the relation between rector and people is something else than the result of a contract between them; that the minister is sent of God to be looked upon by the people as put over them in the Lord. To use his words:

> The employment of this, one of the most solemn of the offices of the Church, tends to correct the very prevalent and gross error concerning the nature and foundation of the ministerial authority, by which the ambassador of Christ is made the hireling of the people, holding office under those over whom God has set him to be a watchman, with the fearful responsibility of answering for their souls.

There are some peculiarities in the civil law of Maryland regulating the election of a minister and the contract between him and the vestry which made it at first doubtful whether the Office of Institution could be used; but to the bishop's gratification, he found entered in full on the parish records of Chestertown the letters of Bishop Claggett instituting Dr. Kewley as rector in 1805. Legal advice was taken from several eminent jurists, including two of the judges of the Supreme Court, and frequently thereafter, in the name of the Church, he authorized and empowered a clergyman to exercise the office of a priest in a special parish. He went further; in 1872 he gave notice that thenceforward he should enter on the list of the clergy simply as rectors-elect such as had not been instituted. Nevertheless the office has not been generally used in Maryland,

possibly because of a seeming want of reality in a commission given by a bishop or standing committee, and so readily made void by the action of a vestry. Bishop Whittingham did not recognize the force of this objection, and thought the granting of license and authority to a parish priest to be equally proper in the case of an engagement for six months as in one for life or without limitation.

To institute a minister is not peculiarly an episcopal function. A bishop may authorize a presbyter to act as institutor, or, if there be no bishop, the clerical members of the standing committee may do so. What is taught is that the pastor is set over the flock in the name of Christ by his Church. There was then no fear that undefined episcopal prerogative would be extended through the use of the Institution Office, and there was never any opposition to the bishop's wishes in this respect stronger than that of indifference. Yet the institution of a rector in Baltimore was the occasion, not the cause, of the first open resistance of Evangelicals to what they deemed growing error.

When Dr. John Johns was made assistant bishop in Virginia, he left Christ Church, the second church in importance in Baltimore. Bishop Whittingham was invited to become its rector, with Mr. H. Van Dyke Johns as his assistant. The invitation was not at once declined. There floated before the bishop's imagination a tempting vision of a model parish or quasi cathedral, a church always open to the devout, with two or more assistant priests and a corps of deacons engaged in their proper office. But this baseless fabric melted: the bishop knew that he had been only dreaming. The episcopal salary was, it is true, an uncertain dependence; but those who had subscribed to it had done so that the diocese might have the full services of a diocesan. In view of this and other difficulties the bishop declined the offer made to him. The proposed assistant was elected in his place, and soon after was duly instituted by the bishop in person. At this time public attention was

much occupied with a now forgotten work of Archbishop Whately attacking the apostolicity of his own office and the priestly character of those whom he made priests. To counteract as he best could the influence of this book, the bishop, on the occasion of an ordination to the priesthood, preached on the meaning of the service; and the next Sunday, November 6, 1842, continued his theme in Christ Church at the institution of Mr. Johns, thinking that this congregation especially needed the instruction which his sermon gave. Needed or not it was indignantly rejected by the new-made rector as supposed to be directed against his brother, and that very afternoon he offered an antidote to the poison presented in the morning. His answer could not but be crude, for he had but two or three hours to prepare it, but it did not lack warmth. Great excitement followed, not only in the congregation, causing the withdrawal of influential vestrymen and of members, but also throughout the State, causing scandal everywhere. The truce of God was ended. Mr. Johns received the dignity of a Doctor of Divinity from Ohio and became a leader, and parties in the Church were once more arrayed against each other. In many places evil effects were felt. In Hagerstown, where its one church was under the care of Mr. Lyman, the pupil and near friend of the bishop, the teaching of the rector, consonant with that of his teacher, was deemed so counter to the pure Gospel that, in protest against it, a part of the congregation went off and, so far as civil rights were concerned, formed themselves into a new church, and were, for a time at least, virtually under the ministerial care of the rector of Christ Church, in Baltimore.* In Diocesan Con-

* The story of this parish dissension furnishes a good index of the state of opinions at the time. The rector by his efficiency had given new life to the parish. It was found necessary to enlarge the church, and as this was to be done it was determined to procure new furniture. To carry out the proposed improvements a committee was appointed to act with the rector; as is not unfrequent in such cases, this committee left the superintendence chiefly to their chairman. He, supposing that he had the full concurrence of the others, raised

vention the Hagerstown case excited an earnest war of words which lasted more than one session. The application from the new congregation for admission was rejected by a majority such as had, probably, never before decided what were called party measures. The next year, 1845, the same majority of more than two to one refused the renewed application for a seat in Convention; also it remodelled the body of canons, among other changes enacting that a congregation or parish must, before organizing as such, obtain leave to do so, and fixing the principle that Convention may refuse leave if just cause for the forming a new congregation be not shown. In discussion it was freely said

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the chancel from one step to three, procured a closed altar purposing to place it against the chancel wall, with the new pulpit and reading desk on either side and further forward, an arrangement approved by the bishop, and in several cases, where consulted, recommended by him, but not suggested by him in this instance. The rector also provided a bishop's chair. Ecclesiologists in England say that a *cathedra* should only be found in a cathedral, but the need of defending episcopal rule has led to a different judgment in America. In all these respects the rector had made changes which he thought to be improvements that would commend themselves, and in his simplicity of purpose did not dream that they could be, what they proved to be, the direful spring of discord. Each change was, by some one, considered to be a token of an advance toward popery. The closed altar was discarded by the vestry, some of its members believing that it had been introduced because the rector thought such Romanist altars to be "a place of literal sacrifice," and another, more handsome and more costly, was made in accord with the famous dictum of a learned bishop, that "an honest table is one that has four legs." The pulpit was again placed above the altar, and it was even proposed to reduce the chancel floor to its original level. An individual also introduced into the chancel a second chair like to the first, saying that "he had no idea of paying the bishop any such respect." After a couple of months' dissension the vestry, as a body, came to the comprehension that the rector did not purpose the betrayal of the Protestant cause, and, on the condition that he should retain the table—which he thought the handsomer altar—they placed the arrangement of the chancel in his hands. But concord was not restored. At the Easter election an attempt was made to turn out the vestry, which having failed, two of the vestry and seventeen out of one hundred and twelve communicants withdrew from the church and organized as a congregation; but so long as they were not recognized by the diocesan authorities they could not have a pastor. The dissentients said that had they succeeded in their attack on the vestry they would not have driven away the rector, but only restrained him in his "popish tendencies," *i.e.*, in showing outward respect for the episcopal authority and in exalting the altar.

that in the Hagerstown case discontent in the parish had been encouraged from without, and that the Convention should clearly show its disapproval.

After all that it had contended for had been secured, the successful party offered a resolution, which may have soothed irritation but had no other effect, pledging the Convention that if the new congregation would dissolve and next year apply for leave to form under the canon it should be granted. Whether or not they ever did is forgotten; the discontented, after a time, returned to the old fold. Some years later one of the leaders in the separation expressed to Dr. Lyman, then in another diocese, his sense of the utter folly of the dissension.

The sermon, which was thought to indicate the need of contention for the faith endangered by popish advances, was published, as was the answer written out by Mr. Johns, and ran through two editions. Severely was it criticised by Protestants for its assumption, and by Papists for its presumption. The title of the two discourses, which are parts of one another, is "The Priesthood in the Church." After having shown that in the Book of Common Prayer the ambiguous term priest signifies an order in the ministry, being equivalent to presbyter, an elder, and also is used "with express reference to sacerdotal function," and having pointed out the misapprehensions of Archbishop Whately, against whose assertions his arguments are chiefly addressed, the author writes:

> Ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven is the essence of priesthood. . . . Truth has been obscured in the discussions concerning a Christian priesthood by stopping short of that definition. All the forms of priesthood that the world has ever known had propitiation for their end: the true priesthood, in all its changes, the one propitiation of the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world . . . the rival atonements of man's invention. . . . But does such ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven comport with the one mediation, atonement, and intercession of the Son of God? Observe in the first place, if it ever did it may now.

The plan of God for our redemption is one, and has no change. Since sin was sin forgiveness came through the blood of Christ alone, and belonged to him alone. If forgiveness through the Beloved, in whom we have redemption through His blood, allowed of priestly intervention before His coming, it may equally since the mystery, then hidden, has been made known. It may, but not necessarily must. Have we reason to think it does?

He finds a clue to the answer in the circumstances attending the cure of the man sick of the palsy at Capernaum.

More strange than the Saviour's expression [thy sins be forgiven thee] and its vindication is the comment of the inspired Evangelist—"they marvelled and glorified God who had given such power unto men." Doubtless what the Lord Jesus claimed as "Son of Man," he claimed not in right of his own divine nature, but in his human nature as given him of God; and what he claimed as given him of God "on earth" he claimed as "sent" of God. By this miracle then he asserted his claim to power as a man sent of the Father to forgive sins. Now, what he so claimed we find that he afterward conveyed, in the most explicit manner, to those whom he left on earth to represent him in his Church and minister in his behalf to the end of time. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19; John xx. 21, 23; Matt. xxviii. 20. The very largeness of this grant startles many, through their reverence for the Word of God, into an unwillingness to receive in their plain sense its explicit declarations; nay, the very words full of grace and truth of Him who was the truth itself.

The objection that to accept the doctrine of ministerial intervention is to believe that the destiny of souls is placed in the keeping of man, is without foundation. Man cannot convey what God himself will not grant—forgiveness without faith and repentance.

Faith must exist to receive forgiveness, whether declared by revelation, proved by miracle, imparted by official absolution, or sealed in a sacramental ordinance. . . . Faith in Jesus . . . is the prerequisite to that forgiveness of sin which the Saviour gave His apostles and their successors power to minister when He sent them in His name even as He had been sent forth of the Father. And that sending, we are taught by the Word of God, was essential not only to the ministerial intervention of those whom it commis-

sioned that sins might be forgiven, but to the production of the faith which accepts and uses and gives efficiency to such intervention [Romans x. 14, 15]. Sent, therefore, Christ's ministers have been; sent to preach that men may believe; sent when they do believe to remit their sins in baptism and in the communion of the flesh and blood which he who eateth and drinketh hath eternal life; sent in the very essential fulness of the priestly character and functions, the subordinate, instrumental, ministerial intervention for the forgiveness of sins. In this scriptural view of the Christian priesthood Christ is seen as all in all.

This view of the ministry pre-eminently deserves the epithet Evangelical. It reveals the Gospel of our salvation to us, not as a blessing indefinitely offered and indeterminately extended, chance-medley strewn, as it were, in a world of sin, but as a dispensation committed to a given channel, communicated by men separated to that end—a Christian priesthood.

Writing to the Romans [xv. 16], St. Paul claims authority over them on account of "the grace given to him of God that he should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering *as a priest*—*ἱερουργοῦντα*—the Gospel of God that the offering up (or the sacrificing, as the margin of our version has it) of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." This passage, while it distinctly asserts the priestly character of the ministration of the Gospel, sets it in the brightest light.

Reference is here made by the author to the presentation to the Father through the Son by those who bear His commission to that end, of the faithful when they

present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God in the reasonable service which in our spiritual worship has taken the place of the offering of the blood of bulls and goats: of this best, highest, holiest, and, through the mercies of Christ, alone well-pleasing sacrifice to God, they, the ministers by whom it is brought about, are priests under Christ.

The foregoing is an abstract of the first discourse only. In the second it is said:

I have had occasion again and again to speak of your pastor as a priest, and of the duties which have now been committed to him as sacerdotal functions—implying that as a priest he is to minister

among you, and therefore to offer sacrifice at what we learn from the rubrics . . . to call the altar of Christian worship.

No addition is made to the positive teaching of the first discourse. These terms priest, sacrifice, altar, are justified. A presumption that they properly belong to the Christian vocabulary

arises from the fact that there never has been a time when they were not so considered by the Church; for fifteen hundred years without a breath of opposition, and for the last three hundred with the exception only of a minority so disproportionately small as hardly to merit being taken into consideration. Unquestionably, like every other truth, this of the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry has been liable to misinterpretation and abuse.

This concession is followed by strongly worded charges of mediæval errors which are said to have taken the place of primitive truth, and then are given proofs of what estimate was placed by early Protestants on the sacraments as "means of salvation and seals of the benefits of Christ's death and mediation;" an estimate retained by us, and therefore "we attach the importance to the ministerial succession which procures for us so many hard thoughts and speeches."

In speaking of "the right to offer 'the spiritual oblation' as the Westminster Confession—'the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' as our Prayer-Book terms the eucharist," the preacher quoted, as if making his own, language which, in the ears of those who knew nothing of the Synod of Dort, must have sounded wondrously like the utterance of one tainted by the denounced mediæval corruptions. Even a knowledge of its Calvinistic source could have hardly made acceptable the assertion, "*We err not when we say that that which is eaten and drank by us is the proper and natural body and the proper blood of Christ.*" It was further said: "The sacraments—baptism for the imparting of spiritual life and the Lord's Supper for its sustentation—are committed to a segregated ministry."

Who can look upon the commission to that ministry, so intrusted, as a light thing to be allowed to every claimant? It makes those who have received it representatives, to some extent, of Him who gave it. In each of His offices—Prophet, Priest, and King—the Son sent of the Father is alone. But yet in all the branches of his mediatorial office the Lord Jesus employs the service of a human ministry; in none as sharing that office with them, or imparting its exclusive and incommunicable powers and functions to them; in each as doing by them that which he does alone—teaching by them as prophet in his word; forgiving sins by their ministry, in his sacraments, as priest; and ruling, by them, in the discipline of his Church, as King. The priesthood of the Christian ministry, then, is an essential part of its subordinate representative character, as sent by Christ. . . . As priest, he sends them to do the priestly office of ministering his sacraments for the forgiveness of sins to such as believe in him.

A full account of these discourses is given because of the attention they commanded at the time they were printed, and of their influence. Some, who would have thanked God at the time they were preached, reading them now might find them not what they look for in sermons on the priesthood by a High Churchman. The making sacramental forgiveness to be assigned to a segregated ministry might be taken to be a denial of the validity of lay baptism. It is possible that the bishop's private views on this subject may have affected his statements. But it was never his intention to use an official position to enforce personal views. It has been shown that even when consulted on the subject of such baptism he would in no way decide for others what the Church had not given him the authority to decide.

As to what might be considered lacking, what is said in the preface to the second edition is to be noted:

The stress of the argument is laid, not on any one act of the Gospel ministry, such as the administration of the holy eucharist, but on the fact that the ministry of the Christian priesthood in the Word and sacraments is equivalent in nature and efficiency to that of the Jewish priesthood in offering animal and other sacrifices.

Undoubtedly one aim of the sermon was to teach that the power of the keys is to be exercised by a Christian priest in the admitting to, or excluding from, the pardon-conveying sacraments. One laying stress on the matter of a later controversy might regret that reconciliation by absolution was not also insisted on. But the sermons must seem wholly without force if all the principles on which rest the maintenance of what he prizes be not seen to be plainly presented. There could have been no intention to put out of sight "the power given to man" on the part of one who speaks of pardon "imparted by official absolution, or sealed in a sacramental ordinance." Again, it may be noted with regret by some that the bishop, speaking of the holy eucharist, defines it simply as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, in conformity with the meaning of the word eucharist. What may seem, in this respect, to be deficient in the text is abundantly supplied in notes appended to the printed discourse, one of which, bearing the title "The Eucharist a Proper Sacrifice," is taken from Bishop Beveridge's "Sermons on the Priesthood." In this it is asserted:

> Though we cannot say that this is such a sacrifice whereby Christ is again offered up to God, both for the living and the dead, yet it may as properly be called a sacrifice as any that was ever offered, except that which was offered by Christ himself. For his indeed was the only true expiatory sacrifice that was ever offered. Those under the law . . . were typical, and this is a commemorative sacrifice. . . . We have an altar (Heb., xiii. 10) where we partake of the great sacrifice which the eternal Son of God offered up, etc.

To this is added from Bishop Overall a definition, the interesting items of which are not here copied.

> The true and proper nature of a sacrifice is to be an oblation of some real and sensible thing—made only to God for the acknowledgment of his supreme dominion over man—made by a lawful

minister, and performed by certain mysterious rites and ceremonies which Christ and his Church have ordained.

And again from Bishop Cosins:

By the ancients and us the celebration of this sacrament is called a sacrifice, yea, a true sacrifice. First, because it is a sensible rite supplying the place of sensible things. . . . Fourthly, because by these prayers the passion, death, and merits of Christ are offered up to God the Father by commemoration and representation.

Because he held that Christ is all, and outward means nothing save as instruments in Christ's hands, the bishop had ventured in his discourse to affirm: "This view of the ministry pre-eminently deserves the epithet Evangelical." With indignation must this claim have been received by those who felt bound to affirm a deep and irreconcilable opposition between the evangelical and the sacramental systems, and the latter to be a thorough corruption of the Gospel of Christ. The discourses, setting forth the Lord pardoning sin through sacraments administered by men ordained by successors of the apostles, were to them a congeries of fatally delusive errors. The errors were to be opposed, and the man who had presented them suspected, and, lest unawares the liberty of Protestant Episcopalians should be undermined, he was to be kept to the letter of the law, the letter of the Prayer-Book and of the canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The day after the rejection of the first demand for admission made by the Hagerstown congregation, a resolution was offered in Convention:

That the name and style of all official signatures upon the journals of this Convention shall be in accordance with the constitutional and legal name of the Church, which is that of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.

The chair declared the resolution to be out of order as pertaining to a matter not within the cognizance of the Convention, to wit: the official signature of the bishop, and the roll being called on a motion to lay on the table the

appeal from this decision, the chair was sustained by a vote of nearly three to one. Whoever offered this resolution could not have hoped that it would pass. It was looked upon, at the time, as a mere token of personal resentment, and did not help the cause of the minority; but it was in truth a public protest against covert assumptions.

A month later the rector and vestry of Christ Church relieved their conscience by sending to the bishop a copy of a series of resolutions which they had recorded on their journal, among which the fifth was:

Resolved, That the vestry of Christ Church is a vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, and as such they do object to the style of Bishop of Maryland attached to the signature of Bishop Whittingham in the letter addressed to them, no such signature of office being known to our laws, civil or ecclesiastical.

The letter referred to, and bearing the repudiated title, was one of a correspondence consequent upon an attempt of the bishop to obtain information other than that contained in the usual yearly parochial reports, in order to make to the approaching General Convention a full report on the state of the Church in his diocese. He had issued a circular to the rectors and to the vestries, respectively, containing "Heads of Inquiry." These queries were in part such as had been asked by Bishop Claggett; in part they were like to such as are customary with English bishops on occasions of visitation. The rectors and vestries of five-sixths of the parishes gave the answers asked for without suspicion. But by others, more vigilant, the inquiries were deemed in part inquisitorial, in part without warrant of canon, to be resisted lest, by compliance, episcopal prerogative be unduly strengthened. On being notified that no answer had been received these persons wrote personally to the bishop, and, as a body, sent him "a remonstrance against the power claimed by the bishop in issuing a circular of questions, and assigned their reasons for the same." The result of much subsequent

writing was simply an exercise of patience on the bishop's part, and the confirmation of the judgment of all but a few of the remonstrants.

Opportunity for showing an increased spirit of watchfulness was found on occasions of the consecration of churches. Bishop Whittingham left for his successor, should it please him to adopt them, forms for every official occasion. It may be noted that not unfrequently young bishops applied to him for copies, and it is known that the forms in several dioceses are such as were first used in Maryland. The bishop composed all those used by him. He could not adopt those of his predecessors, for when he entered on his office he found none, although he obtained some of them afterward. Our consecration service, while requiring instruments of donation and a sentence of consecration, does not prescribe the terms of either. As prepared by Bishop Whittingham, the act on the part of rector and vestry devoting their building to the worship of Almighty God requests the bishop to take the same under his spiritual jurisdiction and to consecrate it. In the act of the bishop are found correspondent terms: "I have . . . taken the above-mentioned house of worship under my spiritual jurisdiction and that of my successors in office."

"Things are not what they seem." One might ask what jurisdiction but that which is spiritual can be given to a bishop over a building the legal title to which is vested in the vestry? But opportunities for the exercise of tyranny were supposed to lurk in the expression "spiritual jurisdiction." A reverend brother soberly consulted the writer as to whether there did not—whether, should these papers be read in the consecration of his church, the bishop would not thereby acquire a right to take him out of his pulpit should he learn that regeneration in baptism was not taught in it? The conduct of another rector, who knew better than to fear any such summary proceedings, is told by the bishop in a letter to his mother.

St. Luke's Day, 1845.

Dear Mother:

I have been in a manner compelled to let my set day for writing pass, but only by one day. An unexpected harassment yesterday and want of convenience for writing where I lodged last night were the occasion of the delay. This afternoon, at the expense of having gone without my dinner and a ride (through delicious mountain scenery and on a delicious day), I have obtained the unusual luxury of a quiet hour or two alone in my bedroom by daylight, and am comfortably ensconced by the side of a little fire, with my washstand for a table and my portfolio for a desk, in a tolerably comfortable chamber, which is about an average specimen of the accommodations in a Maryland parsonage, *i.e.*, much such a one as the house where I visited dear Mary when you were with her at Greene. I am just at present in the midst of the Philistines, viz., in that portion of my diocese which is under the influence, almost exclusively, of clergymen who are bitterly opposed to me, my measures, and my principles. An unexpected specimen of this opposition has been given me within the last twenty-four hours. To-day being St. Luke's Day, I had so arranged my visitation of these parts that it should fall for the consecration of a nice little church that after many delays, difficulties, and dangers had at length been completed, and was to be called St. Luke's Church. It is in the parish of the clergyman at whose house I now am. A little more than two weeks ago he met me and, speaking of the notice of my visitation he had received, asked if there were any further arrangements to be made. I replied that he had only to procure the action of his vestry upon the usual deed of donation and request to consecrate, a copy of which I gave him to be filled up and signed, and he took it without remark. Yesterday he met me and took me, after dinner, into his carriage to convey me to one of his parishioners, where I was to pass the night, remarking that I must go with him rather than with L. (who accompanied us in his own carriage), because he wanted to have some conversation with me. It soon came out that this conversation was to be on the subject of the consecration on the morrow. He was sorry, he said, that he had had no meeting of his vestry, but he supposed the want of a deed of donation would make no difference, as he perceived that the rubric in the Prayer-Book did not require it as essential. I replied that I was sorry, too, that his vestry had not met, as it would probably be difficult to convene them on the morrow, which yet must be done, as I could not consecrate without the deed. "Why, you don't mean to say, sir, that you'll not consecrate my

church without that very deed which you gave me!" was the answer, uttered so as to express much surprise. I replied that I had had no reference in what I said to the form of the deed, but to the fact of a deed being given, to which I had understood him to have reference; but that as to the form, I had hitherto required and received that furnished him, with no material change, in more than twenty instances, and had as yet only once heard objection made. He said he did make objection, and hoped I would not insist. I thought I must, at least until further advisement. Then came his objection; it was to the clause requesting "the said bishop to take the said house under his spiritual jurisdiction and that of his successors in office." This, he thought, indicated a disposition to go beyond the canonical restrictions of the power of a bishop, and he thought the same disposition was still more plainly shown in my insisting on the presentation of a deed when the rubric did not, and on having it in that form when no form was prescribed. I replied the deed of donation was a uniform, unvaried usage, to which I had never known of any exception in England or this country; that my form of it was merely that in general use, slightly varied, but not in the clause excepted to; that the manner and circumstances of consecration had always been left in England entirely to the discretion of a bishop, and in this country were so in all things not expressly prescribed in the form; that I could not and would not depart from the uniform usage of my predecessors in this diocese, and of other bishops in England and America, in requiring a deed of donation and prescribing at least the binding clause; that whereas he spoke of the necessity of resisting innovation, and quoted the maxim *obsta principiis*, I agreed with him as to the necessity and the value of the maxim, but differed in the application, perceiving that there were a few persons in our Church who were striving to innovate by departing from the established principle and usage of the Church, of which innovations his present objections were a specimen; that I was determined, so far as in me lay, to hand down to my successors the trust committed to me undiminished and unchanged by one jot or one tittle, and should quietly and calmly, but steadfastly, resist any attempt at the advancement of novel claims or objections. The result of a long conversation was that it turned out that he had never laid the matter before his vestry, but had refused to act, upon his own responsibility; that I declined consecrating a church not only without a deed of donation in the right form, but without any such deed, and not that only, but without any formal request of the vestry to have it consecrated. This morning the congregation that had convened

from far and near to witness the consecration were told by me "that it was postponed on account of a failure in the preparation of the necessary papers." And so the matter lies for the present. Here have I filled my letter with what I meant should make a very small part of it; but the long story may serve to show of what kind my trials are, and the history of one day enable you *ex uno discere multos*. Your affectionate WILLIAM.

As has been said, whenever present in a chancel during service, Bishop Whittingham thought it well to take on himself the duty which is assigned him in the communion office and pronounce absolution; and it may have been observed that on all occasions of visitation in the forenoon holy communion was administered, he acting as celebrant, and also, as pastor visiting his flock, ordering all the services. At first no impropriety was seen in this. But when the bishop became suspected and it was determined to resist all assumption of power not specifically bestowed by American law, then it was decided that courtesy must give place to the maintenance of liberty in Christ's Church. The reverend rector of a church in Washington City having received the usual notice of a visitation, including the expression of a purpose to celebrate the holy communion, determined, after consultation with Dr. Johns and others, to make no provision for carrying out the bishop's announced intentions. It happened that the purpose of resistance was not perceived, and on the part of the bishop disappointment only was felt, perhaps not even expressed. Several months later a like opportunity for bringing on an issue was given to the rector of St. Andrew's, in Baltimore. His action was such that there was left no room for misapprehension. Acknowledging receipt of the notice, and having first stated that he was on the point of notifying the bishop that the canonical period of three years had elapsed since his last visitation, he wrote:

As regards the celebration of holy communion on that day, I have to say that it will not be convenient, nor do I think it expedient, as

it will have been administered on the preceding Sunday. Our second service . . . would of course be interrupted by protracting the services as you propose. I shall therefore be obliged to decline acceding to your proposal in this last particular.

To this answer the bishop replied, showing how he supposed the inconveniences mentioned might have been avoided, revoking the appointment and naming another day for carrying out the purposes as already notified, and explaining the seeming neglect of canonical duty. The next letter of the rector was definite.

BALTIMORE, November 2, 1846.

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR:

. . . In reply I would remark that I have no objection to your changing the day of your visitation from the 13th to the 6th of December, on which day, D. V., the sacrament of the Lord's Supper will be administered in due course by me. You say in your first letter that . . . "you purpose also to celebrate the holy communion and collect the offerings of the congregation." . . . A question of principle is raised which I am bound respectfully but firmly to maintain. . . . I did hope that I should have been spared the task, now unavoidably imposed on me, by simply informing you, for the reasons named in my note, that it would be both inconvenient and, I thought, inexpedient to administer the holy communion on the day contemplated. But by your changing the day . . . I am compelled, *nolens volens*, to meet the issue. The administering of the holy communion to the people of his charge is one of the appropriate duties of the rector. . . . It is no part of the episcopal function in the character of bishop. And the canons of the Church, so far from contemplating that the bishop at his episcopal visitations shall administer the communion, by their silence imply directly the contrary. I hold that the canons are to be strictly and literally interpreted. . . . Not only are law and canon opposed to this practice, but precedent is also against it. . . . The practice, then, is clearly an innovation for which neither law nor precedent can be pleaded, and which I, for one, not only feel that I ought, but that I must oppose. . . . On the first Sunday in December, therefore, I purpose, in my usual course of duties, to administer the holy communion to my charge, etc., on which occasion, as I approve the object, I have no objection that the collection be applied as you wish. . . .

Very respectfully yours, etc., JOSEPH TRAPNELL, JR.

The bishop by letter maintained his right as pastor to feed his flock, and gave, as he supposed, a series of precedents within the diocese. This was followed by a very long answer by Mr. Trapnell, of which it is not necessary to give an abstract; what has been given, in his own words, though not continuously, defines his position. There is no reason to impugn the prime motives of this gentleman or of those who acted with him. It was not personal hostility; there was no room for this. It was, as claimed, a sense of obligation to maintain the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free. But zeal, even when kindled by the purest motive, does not always burn with a clear flame. Grievous scandal resulted from that into which Mr. Trapnell was betrayed when upholding what he deemed the rights of parish priests. Because of absence his long argument and crimination was received at so late a day that there was time simply for a categorical question, "Do you assent to or decline my offer of a visitation as proposed?" A direct answer was not given. It was said, "a class is ready for confirmation;" and the bishop was requested to meet the rector in the vestry-room thirty minutes before the time for service, in the hope, as the rector said afterward, "that the bishop might be induced to respect conscience, so far as, at least, to consent to an omission of the communion, if he could not consent to the rector's officiating on the occasion." These "pleasing anticipations" having been crushed, a positive refusal followed. Soon after, Mr. Trapnell published the correspondence, in justification of his course and to defend himself against misrepresentation.

As a consequence of this scandal Mr. Trapnell was, under a diocesan canon, presented for conduct incompatible with the character of a Christian minister. The charges exhibited were that he had refused to allow the bishop to administer the Lord's Supper on an occasion of official visitation; that in his correspondence he had used language grossly indecorous, and that he had published a pamphlet containing these let-

ters. The Standing Committee, who had certified the bishop that there was sufficient cause for the presentation of Mr. Trapnell, in accordance with the then canons of the diocese, sat as an ecclesiastical court for his trial. The accused was defended by two eminent members of the bar, who in their pleadings confined themselves to legal questions, and especially to the constitution of the court and to the force of canons of the Diocese of Maryland, asserting that "the penal code of the General Convention is paramount law; that the General Convention meant to enact a penal code for the whole Church, and only to leave the mode of trial to be affixed by the different dioceses. It has never given the right to define crimes and offences." His counsel, if the assertion of the church advocate is to be received, did not attempt to defend the language of Mr. Trapnell, and thus acknowledged its impropriety. The respondent more fully defended himself, reading a written speech. Answering the charge of indecorum, he stated that certain words and phrases in one of his letters he could wish blotted out, but that not a sentiment there expressed could he retract. On the advice of counsel and friends, as it seemed at the time, he omitted the defence of his language and proceeded to justify the publication of the correspondence. In his general defence he said that as a presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America he claimed to be judged by her law only, her canons and rubrics; and is reported to have said: "Even if it could be shown that in this Diocese of Maryland before the year 1784 the bishop had unlimited powers, I should not care for the argument that might be drawn from it. At that time an ecclesiastical confederation was made, and we are all bound by its provisions." He quoted largely from the writings of fathers and of divines, but "only as rebutting the seeming authorities of the church advocate."

On the articles touching the language written and published, the church advocate had little to say; a court com-

posed of clergymen needed not to be told what was becoming in one of their number. To maintain the charge of insubordination in refusing to permit the bishop to celebrate on occasion of a visitation, it was necessary to show the right inherent in the claimant. Before entering on this precise subject, Dr. Evans, who was church advocate, found it necessary to dispose of a preliminary question.

> It is a common but erroneous notion (he said) that the American Church has no laws but those which have been made since 1789. Yet if the Church existed in America before 1789, she must have been governed by some laws. They may not have been well enforced but they must have existed. The ecclesiastical law in purely spiritual matters must have been the same in the province of Maryland as in the city of London when both were parts of the same diocese. I speak . . . of the law of the Church. . . . Those laws which are really civil, nominally ecclesiastical, were not in force in America before the Revolution. . . . How could a merely political revolution affect merely spiritual laws?

He then proved that we have now some spiritual laws older than 1789 from the ordinal which refers to ancient canons. Coming to the main question he asserted that the episcopal office is not the priesthood with something superadded. According to the scriptural argument on which episcopacy rests it is that of the apostles, sent as He was sent in whose name they founded the Church. The first bishops succeeded to the authority of the apostles; they exercised the same office under a different name. Bishops now have inherited the rights of first bishops save as restrained, modified, by the Church in the course of ages. Instead then of asking for the canon which has given authority to a bishop in his own diocese to perform any function pertaining to his character as a successor to the apostles, it is necessary to show by what law he is restrained. "The powers of government and of administering the Word and sacraments are all included in the episcopate, and, taken together, make one office. This office was given to the

apostles as an entire thing." The jurisdiction to govern is now and has long been limited to a defined space. A further change has taken place.

Dioceses have been divided into parishes, each of which has been committed to a presbyter with the ordinary jurisdiction of administering the Word and sacraments, but still subject to the superior jurisdiction of the bishop. The one is pastor, the other chief pastor. The right of visitation inheres in the chief pastor as a remain of his ancient jurisdiction, and the visitation is the occasion for exercising his jurisdiction as well of administering the Word and sacraments as of governing the Church.

What has been said implies that the court overruled the objections to their competency to try, but it would be an important omission to fail to notice the principle they affirmed in so doing. The protest of the respondent rested on two pleas: First, That the Standing Committee as a court of inquiry had already so passed upon the charges as to disqualify them from trying the case. Second, Conceding jurisdiction, the offences charged are not such as can be tried by the court. "The presentment specifies no canon violated by the accused." The gist of the second plea is that the respondent could be tried under no law save that enacted by the General Convention. In answer the church advocate claimed: First, That exclusive powers of legislation have not been granted to the General Convention. Second, That not only has Maryland distinctly avowed her diocesan independence, but that all dioceses are independent according to the primitive and apostolic constitution of the Church. Third, That Maryland in her XXIId Canon has sufficiently acted upon the subject. Fourth, That the offences charged are offences against the XXVIIth Canon of the General Convention of 1832.

The court having duly considered the protest in relation to the first plea, affirmed that they had not prejudged the case, and were competent to decide on the innocence or guilt of the accused.

In regard to the second ground of the protest . . . the court affirm that they do not consider that dioceses have parted with their power to enact a penal code, and they are persuaded that in every trial which has hitherto taken place in the Church in Maryland, the Standing Committee have been uniformly governed by the existing canons of the diocese both as to the mode and in regard to the designation of the offence.

In their final decision they say:

While the court believe, even in absence of canonical legislation on the subject, that the bishop, in order to discharge his episcopal functions, possesses the right to administer the holy communion on occasions of canonical visitations, yet inasmuch as the question is one not known by them ever to have been agitated in this Church, and as there appears to exist great diversity of opinion concerning it, they consider that to oppose the exercise of this right is not of the nature of a moral offence, and consequently in this act they judge the defendant not guilty of "conduct incompatible with the character of a minister of Christ."

With regard to the indecorum of his language, although "the acknowledgments relating to the excitement under which it was uttered, accompanied by the distinct refusal of his counsel in his presence to justify that language, much mitigate his culpability," yet they find him guilty. And so also with regard to the publication.

The bishop, in passing sentence, said:

I gladly find myself enabled, by the tenor of the opinion of the committee, to fix on the lightest form of censure recognized by the canon, and subject you only to reproof for the offences against the decency and the order of the Church of which you have been guilty.

Admitting the extenuation of honest views of duty and an excitement such as the meekest of men suffered to betray him, the reprover thought the offences were yet not light either in the eye of God or in their consequences to the Church.

As may be said of other incidents which must find place

in a truthful record, this trial, which gave pain to all excepting those who rejoice in the humiliation of the Church, has not been dwelt on because it was the consequence of an offence against the subject of this memoir. It is more grateful to present a pleasing sequence of it, and, so doing, to confirm, by the words of his opponent, assertions touching some of the generous traits in the character of Bishop Whittingham.

Through desire to avoid possible injustice Dr. Trapnell was asked to give such an account of what led to his trial as he would wish to appear in this memoir. The statement of facts and of motives made in answer to this request was but a repetition of what the printed Report of the Trial contains. But the doctor also told of the relations that existed between the bishop and himself after their controversy. From this part of his letter selections are here made.

The bishop and I became better friends than ever. . . . Our parting [when the doctor was about to go to Rhode Island] was with such demonstration of affectionate regard I could but feel drawn to the man; and when in 1861 I returned to the diocese, I was welcomed by the bishop with the same cordiality that had pronounced a godspeed at my departure. In 1868 I wrote to the bishop requesting a visitation; to which he most kindly replied, and engaged to spend the approaching Christmas holidays with me. . . . This visitation was in many respects memorable. The social intercourse during the three days of its continuance was most profitable and pleasing. . . . I have needed no evidence of the bishop's views in reference to the "advanced" since the full and free conversations we then had touching these matters. . . . A little incident occurred during this visitation which, to me, was very touching. . . . On reaching the vestry-room on Christmas morning just before the time of divine service, I requested the bishop to name the order of services. The reply was, "My good brother, just arrange them to suit yourself." To this I objected, and begged that, as a favor to myself, he would indicate what part of the service he would prefer that I should take. He then said that as he was not strong he would be glad if I would take the whole of the morning prayer, and that he would preach and perform whatever else his

office of bishop required of him. I then remarked, "I presume, bishop, that you are still in the habit of pronouncing the absolution in the morning prayer?" The bishop's response was, "Brother Trapnell, just as you please." I stopped all further remark with some feeling. "Bishop Whittingham, I am an older man than I used to be." Whereupon he seized me with both his hands and said with emphasis, "*And so am I.*" This little scene, though there was no witness to it but ourselves, was not destitute of effect. A bond of mutual love and friendship was thereby cemented, and the bishop and I knew each other better and loved each other with a more frank and hearty affection than ever before. And when he left he presented me with a copy of the annotated Prayer-Book. . . . [In 1878, in very kind terms, the bishop requested the doctor to preach the Convention sermon, which he did.] . . . When the sad tidings reached us that Bishop Whittingham was no more of earth, few felt the crushing blow more severely than myself, and few were prompted to exclaim with greater appreciation, "My Father, my Father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!"

The excitement attending the Trapnell trial could not but extend to the succeeding Convention. In his address that year (1847) the bishop referred to it and said:

> The stand taken in this matter before and since the trial of our reverend brother, both by himself and by his friends, appears to me to call for legislation on the part of the Convention providing by positive enactment for the enforcement of the indubitable right of the episcopal office. I respectfully recommend the matter to your attention, hoping that your wisdom will provide the proper remedy for an evil that needs to be checked in its beginning.

There was fair opportunity for meeting the bishop's recommendation, for that year the canons, as a body, were revised, and among other changes one was passed which did away with the incongruity of assigning to a committee the duty of inquiring whether one accused ought to be brought to trial, and then afterward, on his presentation, of trying him. Leaving to the Standing Committee the duties corresponding to those of a grand jury, an ecclesiastical court was organized—appointed by the Convention. The first draft of

the canon directed that the members of the court should be appointed by ballot. It is noteworthy that the minority preferred to trust themselves to the man whom they continued to oppose, and procured that the nomination, to be confirmed by the Convention, should come from the bishop.

The Convention confirmed the principle affirmed by the court in the late trial, and which was again denied in a report of a minority of the committee who had revised the canons, namely, that the diocese has a right to define offences, not having surrendered this right when it became a member of the General Convention. Also a special committee reported a canon to be entitled "Offences Relating to Episcopal Visitations," and ordering that for the offence of resisting or opposing by a presbyter or deacon the arrangements of the bishop for religious services on occasion of an episcopal visitation, the punishment, on conviction thereof, shall be suspension for a period not to exceed six months. A substitute was offered: "*Resolved*, That the bishop, by the law and custom of the Church, has the right of regulating all the services on occasions of episcopal visitations canonically notified."

After long discussion of the report it was laid on the table, not because there was not a large majority disposed to accept it, but because "such an informal arrangement was announced as, in the opinion of all the members of the Convention, rendered any further legislation unnecessary." Like other such undefined arrangements, this failed to prevent a recurrence of the trouble supposed to have been set aside. On two occasions "the arrangements of the bishop," etc., were opposed. The Rev. Dr. Johns, of Christ Church, was so submissive to the letter of canon law that, although confirmation classes had long been waiting, he could not ask—as did other city rectors—for a visitation. When the bishop, warned by the lapse of time, gave notice of visitation in conformity with "the understanding," he

was met by conscientious opposition; whereupon the bishop withdrew his appointment. When the "three years" of the canon had elapsed the rector and vestry gave notice to their diocesan that they had determined to lay before three bishops the correspondence which had passed between the bishop and the rector, with a view to presentment; "the object being to ascertain whether a bishop has a right to decline the performance of a duty enjoined on him by a general canon for the reason that a rector, on occasion of a visitation, declined to surrender to him a part of public worship not assigned to the bishop by the rubrics, nor declared by canon to be a part of his duty."

This letter was dated May 9, 1850. The bishop felt bound to present this "disagreeable topic" to the Diocesan Convention, which met soon after, saying:

> A visitation to a congregation in this city was broken off, and the appointment revoked, because the rector of the church claimed to control the services and my ministrations on the occasion. As well to explain the nature of his claim, and my consequent protection of my office by declining to bring it into collision with that claim, as because ulterior proceedings have been grounded upon my withdrawal of the appointment, I shall lay upon your table the correspondence that has passed between me and the rector and vestry of Christ Church, Baltimore, since January 15th in the current year. You will bestow on it such attention as you may think called for.

This part of the bishop's address, together with the correspondence after it had been read in Convention, was referred to a committee of seven chosen by ballot. A majority of this committee reported three resolutions:

> 1. *Resolved*, As the sense of this Convention, that a bishop, in order to the exercise of his episcopal functions, possesses the right, on occasion of canonical visitation, to control the services and to take to himself such portions of them as he may think proper.
>
> 2. *Resolved*, That this principle was recognized and settled as the law of the Diocese of Maryland by the decision of the tribunal [in the Trapnell case].

3. *Resolved*, That the course of the bishop of this diocese in revoking his notice, etc., was the wise and judicious exercise of a discretion canonically vested in him, in a spirit of Christian prudence and forbearance which does him honor.

In the preface to these resolutions, which sets forth the reasoning on which they are based,

the committee are of opinion that the solution of the questions submitted to them does not rest on any verbal criticism of rubrics and canons, although entirely consistent with the results of such criticism when rightly employed, but on principles which lie at the foundation of the Church itself. They take as axioms those truths which the Church clearly maintains, however they may be doubted by those out of her pale; and among such: First, That bishops are successors to the apostles in the ordinary power of their office. . . . Secondly, That as such the apostolic commission embraces them. . . . Thirdly, That consequently bishops as such have the right to preach and administer the sacraments as well as rule the Church. Fourthly, That these episcopal rights are to be exercised in their . . . appointed fields of labor. Fifthly, That consequently every bishop has a right to preach and administer the sacraments . . . in every part of his diocese; for if there be any part of his diocese in which he cannot exercise episcopal rights, then in that part he is not bishop.

"It may be asked," say the committee, "Is there no limitation to these principles? Can a bishop at any time, in any part of his diocese, perform any ministerial act he pleases? The committee will not keep back their belief that in the beginning it was even so—that in the earliest ages of the Church presbyters did not preach when bishops were present. The institution of the parochial system has, however, produced a mighty revolution. Presbyters are now made responsible for the spiritual state of souls in their parishes, and their power must bear some relation to their responsibility," etc. "The mere presence of a bishop does not take away a rector's rights; but these cede to those of a bishop when, in his very episcopal character, he visits a parish none the less under his charge because also committed to the care of a presbyter."

The language of the "office" was also examined, and the action of the bishop in the special case before them considered. A minority asked leave to submit a counter-report,

which was granted. The appointment of a committee all of one mind could have been readily made, but although the majority felt that the Convention had been aggrieved by the revival of a question which had been settled by "an informal arrangement," this was not done by them. In a proper spirit of Christian courtesy two members were placed on the committee who maintained the principles which had influenced the vestry. Every man's views were known. When the Convention was moved to pass the resolutions, as a substitute for them it was moved that the whole question be referred to the next General Convention, but this was rejected and the resolutions were all adopted by a vote of nearly three to one, the ayes and nays having been called for, and members absent at the time of calling the roll being allowed to record their vote during the day. The full vote was 111 to 38.

A resolution censuring and rebuking the rector and vestry for the letter addressed by them to the bishops was offered and ruled out of order, the chair believing the Convention not competent to entertain it. No canon was passed. Indignant as were the bishop's friends, it seemed to them enough that he had been so triumphantly maintained, and it is not at all probable that a diocesan canon would have quieted the scruples of the minority.

In 1850 eleven rectors and their vestries, together with a few other clergymen, presented a memorial to the General Convention appealing against the claims of the Bishop of Maryland, "sanctioned and sustained by the Ecclesiastical Court and the Convention." These claims were stated to be: The right to administer the Lord's Supper by right of office; the right to appropriate the offerings when he does celebrate, and the right, whenever present at public worship, to pronounce absolution. The memorialists met with sympathy, of course, but the answer of the Convention was the passage of a canon declaring it to be the duty of every bishop to visit the churches in his diocese at least once in

three years, "for the purpose of ministering the Word, and, if he think fit, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people committed to his charge." This canon was re-enacted, in an amplified form, in 1856. But in neither is mention made of appropriation of alms or of the declaration of absolution. The peace of the diocese was no longer disturbed by disputation on these points. The claim of the bishop to be the chief pastor in his diocese was acknowledged, and they who required the letter of the law before they could submit to the claim had given them what they asked for.

Other causes of discord were not wanting. In 1851, a year after his attempt to bring the bishop to trial, Dr. Johns was again the cause of excitement and of scandal, by what the bishop and a majority of his brethren deemed an offence against the common order of the Church. Despite what the bishop considered a godly admonition and judgment which he had vowed to obey, the doctor persisted in taking part in a series of services which were intended as a joint effort in the cause of Christ by all evangelical bodies; and thus, to use the language of the Standing Committee, "he was needlessly and voluntarily identified with an association extraneous to that body, the interests and orders of which he was solemnly bound to maintain."

The bishop "had no resource, in the discharge of official duty, but to lay the correspondence before the Standing Committee." * This council of advice did not doubt that Dr. Johns

had given formal sanction to persons employed in opposition to what the Church deems the "truth as it is in Jesus;" that he had violated the canon requiring the use of the Book of Common Prayer

* At the same time he also stated that he had been informed that Dr. Johns, and at least one other presbyter, had officiated in turn with ministers of other religious bodies in keeping open for worship, during a vacancy, "a Congregationalist meeting-house;" and "that a presbyter had actually assisted in reading the Hebrew Scriptures at a Jewish synagogue on occasion of public worship." It does seem that at that time the limits of freedom in worship stood in need of definition.

before all sermons; that his line of conduct followed out would lead to the abandonment of all the distinctive principles of the Church; nor that these acts of indiscretion were aggravated by opposition to the explicit remonstrance of the bishop, and therefore they felt bound to express strongly and distinctly their condemnation of his conduct. But yet, inasmuch as Dr. Johns claimed an implied degree of sanction from widely extended usages in certain sections of the Church, the committee were not prepared to maintain that his fault, under present circumstances, calls for as severe and extreme a measure as subjection to an ecclesiastical trial.

The opinion of the Standing Committee was by the bishop communicated to the next Convention on their request. And here the matter ended; but resentment might have been increased had the correspondence been also requested, for the doctor, pleading with much warmth for freedom in preaching the Gospel, did not hesitate to review the course of the bishop during the years of his episcopate, to treat him as a hinderer of the Gospel, and to lay to his charge the driving evangelical ministers out of the diocese by his assumptions and his interference.

It has been said of some good man, that to do him a wrong was to make him a friend for life. Something like to this was true of Bishop Whittingham; he seemed to be always on guard lest prejudice should influence official conduct, and so much was he afraid of favoritism, that he confessed that in so much as one was near to him through ties of kindred or friendship, by so much did he lose claims to official favor. Not long after this last-mentioned instance of a long-continued opposition, Dr. Johns was appointed to preach the Convention sermon, and when, in 1859, it became the duty of the bishop, in accordance with custom, to announce his death, it was in these words he did so:

Prematurely as it might seem to man, certainly in the very height of activity and usefulness, the Rev. Henry Van Dyke Johns, the beloved and influential rector of Emmanuel Church, in this city, has been taken from his family, his ardently devoted flock, and a whole

mourning city. His extensive connections and long residence in the diocese had made him one of the most generally known of all our band. His winning manners and earnest zeal for the service of his Master secured the respect of all, the love and admiration of such as were more intimately associated in his work. Probably none among us, when called to rest, will be missed and mourned by so many. Long years must pass before the void which his departure makes in the ministry of Baltimore can be so supplied as to appease the sense of grievous loss now filling so many hearts with anguish. Eulogy of such a man would be out of place on this occasion. To you the mere mention of his name is his ample praise.

Besides these more serious troubles, the result of a different standard of churchmanship, there came to Bishop Whittingham numerous other vexations—vexations which others sometimes thought he inflicted—because of the obligation which he felt to have been imposed to maintain all that had been committed to him throughout his jurisdiction: some more, some less important, wearisome to recall, and which it would be wearisome to read. Among these were violations of the order of Church services—irregularities which were far less marked when he came to his diocese than at any previous period probably. He loved uniformity, not that of a pile of bricks, but, as he has been heard to say, of leaves on a tree, no two precisely alike, yet all showing common growth on a common stock. Whether he liked it or not, he felt bound to insist on that uniformity which the Book of Common Prayer seemed to him to prescribe. The Church has supplied spiritual aids, daily morning and evening prayer, etc., and until these have been exhausted her faithful children, according to his judgment, may not seek elsewhere what the mother offers. Granting this, one may yet think that dealing with wayward children it is better at times to be to their faults a little blind. Remembering the troubles brought on him by what he thought waywardness, one cannot but remark the contrast presented by those of the earlier with those of the latter years of the bishop's episcopate—kindred although seeming to be opposed. He

himself held that principle which, as held by some others, led to that which he was forced to condemn, namely, that the end of all forms is to bring the soul into the presence of God. In his earlier days some of his clergy were addicted to prayer-meetings, and he censured them. It was not that he thought that prayer is not acceptable if not "by book," but obedience is a first duty. Once from his place in Convention he said: "If a churchman have been morning and evening to the service of the Church, and still he feels a longing for the worship of God which can be gratified only by the freer exercises of the prayer-meeting, in God's name let him go; it may be his bounden duty to go." Things in their nature not essential become so, he thought, when prescribed or forbidden by lawful authority.

LETTERS.

TO MRS. WHITTINGHAM, DURING THE TRAPNELL TRIAL.

. . . Our trial has been going on these two days. It is numerously attended by the brethren of a certain stamp. . . .

Thus far all has been conducted with much dignity, decency, and comity. Yesterday was spent in hearing and answering a protest against the authority, jurisdiction, and competence of the court, which was set aside in an able paper drawn up by Dr. Wyatt, on the grounds of law and precedent. To-day the case has been gone into, and witnesses heard. The result has been that their own witnesses have completely, and thus publicly, established the fact that for two years a clique, of which —— acts as head, and is so acknowledged, has been conspiring against my authority and influence. Letters were referred to and conversations reported fully bringing this out. I could not have desired a more perfect or more seasonable exposure.

Their own witnesses have completely established my position with regard to the points which Trapnell, in his pamphlet, endeavored to make against me concerning my visit to Bean's church, etc. Lewin's testimony, containing the important supplementary particulars of my conduct at the church, omitted by T. in his account, was explicitly admitted without any attempt at contradiction. Evans, they say, has shown himself very able—more than a match for both his antagonists. Teackle, the younger, has given up the case to-night, having to go to Annapolis. Trapnell himself proposes to take his place. To-morrow the argument begins. Mr. Evans expects to speak about three hours; his trunk full of books which he is to use as authorities, when taken into court to-day, quite astonished his antagonists. They fully believed that he had nothing of the kind to produce. It remains to be seen what they will bring against him. At present all looks bright. I must break off and go to bed; it is nearly one o'clock, and I have had a hard day's work. WILLIAM.

INDIGNANT AT THOSE WHO WOULD CONTROL THEIR BISHOP.

MAY 5, 1843.

MY DEAR THEODORE:

The news from Frederick County was, though not surprising, yet sufficiently distressing. Do the gentlemen mean that no plan of their bishop is to be blessed with their countenance and co-operation unless he will with a loud voice and distinct pronunciation say their "shibboleth?" Little as they know their own place who dare sin against God by such a course, they know him with whom, under God, they have to do, as little, if they think to cow, or even to move him by it. I shall declare myself *when*, *how*, and *so far* as I think my duty to my Maker calls me to do it, and from no other consideration; and as to the *what* I declare myself, were that a thing yet to be decided, their course would be one of the likeliest to decide it against their wishes. But they are not worth the ink I waste on them. Evil are the times in which a bishop is to plead for himself before half-learned presbyters and ignorant laymen and women (witness a letter received two days ago from D. H. Buel, who is in danger of being ousted—from a state of starvation!—by a female archbishop, by whom I have been condemned and excommunicated for heresy!) in vindication of his right to teach and premonish those who seem to have read the contract at his consecration backward, viz., that *they* are set over *him* in the Lord. . . .

Yours, W. R. W.

The Rev. T. B. LYMAN, Hagerstown.

ADVICE TO A RECTOR.

BALTIMORE, April 15, 1844.

DEAR LYMAN:

I hardly know whether to congratulate you or not on the present state of affairs in St. John's, although I am very sure it is a subject of congratulation to me and the diocese that there was so respectable a majority for sound principle and good order. The first burst of violence of the minority, I trust, will soon have passed away. . . .

Your course is a plain one. Take no notice of the past, not even of the violence that may have characterized the language and conduct of individuals; but forgiving and forgetting all, treat all equally with courtesy, and relinquish not for a moment your relation to every one of them as their spiritual pastor, comforter, and guide.

Give them no pretext, no chance, for personal charges. In your teaching, while you neglect no point of sound doctrine, let it be inculcated in the most quiet, unobtrusive, unoffending manner; and let earnest inculcations of the great evangelical and spiritual features of our form of sound words, and zealous but meek and affectionate exhortation to holiness of heart and life, compel them to acknowledge your claim to be received as a man of God. Do not, I beseech you, let your trial fail of what I doubt not is its designed end, and may be its most beneficial result, a renewal and increase of your devotion of body and soul and spirit to the work of our Blessed Redeemer. Try more and more to have Him ever in your mind; His name, His truth, His example and precepts ever on your lips. Labor to realize yourself that you are set to watch for souls, as one that must give account, and do not fear that He who has sent you will be with you and bring men, "yea, even the rebellious also," to recognize you as bearing authority as well as responsibility from Him. Let them see you feel and discharge the latter, and they will, as it were insensibly, be brought to feel and own the former.

Your affectionate and faithful friend, W. R. W.

The Rev. Theo. B. Lyman, Hagerstown.

OF A YOUNG CLERGYMAN SAID TO RESEMBLE HIM WHEN PREACHING—NEGRO PSALMODY.

Baltimore, November 3, 1845.

Dear Mother:

. . . Notwithstanding his brother's illness, Francis gave us, yesterday, at St. Paul's, an excellent sermon, fully equal to the very high reputation he has already acquired. It is the first time I have had an opportunity of hearing him preach. I had heard so much of a supposed resemblance in his manner to mine that my curiosity had been a good deal excited. Of course I am no judge of the correctness of the prevalent opinion, yet I think it is, as such opinions so generally are, very much exaggerated, and based upon a few trifling coincidences in voice and intonation. In matter I was willing to flatter myself that the resemblance was greater than in manner; and seemed to myself to observe a very considerable agreement in the turn of thought and expression of Francis and myself. As I have already said, I thought his sermon a good one; this shows a disposition on my part at least not to underrate myself—yet allowance should be

made for the fact that what would be indeed a very good sermon for a young deacon might be a very poor one for a bishop—and, in truth, the comparative criticism on myself does just confirm my long-settled opinion of my own preaching, that it might be well enough under other circumstances, but is miserably poor for one in mine. My having heard a sermon shows you that I am in an interval of leisure. Yesterday's disengagement was owing in part to a disappointment, in part to my having been indisposed two or three days with tediously protracted headache, consequent, I suppose, upon an exchange of the incessant exercise of visitation for close sedentary occupation in attention to correspondence, etc., on my return. I returned from the upper counties on Friday evening the 24th, at eight, but left again the next day for Anne Arundel County, whence I returned on the following Monday. The morning of the intervening Sunday was devoted to a small church in a factory, and the afternoon, by long previous arrangement, to the colored part of a parish, of which I had visited the whites two months before. The blacks had the church exclusively to themselves, Dr. H. and the rector, with one vestryman (he in the vestry room), being the only whites present. There was a marriage, too, after the Second Lesson. The service was conducted with perfect accuracy and decency, my sermon (on Tit. ii. 10) listened to, seemingly, with intense interest; and then the singing! You never heard such singing—no! not even if you have been at the giant choruses in the Tabernacle. The last hymn was the 179th, sung to Shirland; but it was a Shirland of their own, not a bar exactly like the printed Shirland, yet not a bar out of tune or time. It was sung in full harmony, with more than four parts, and with occasional *ad libitum* accompaniments (vocal of course) for all the world like those of the octave flute or piccolo in a full band, and with a double thorough bass almost as deep as the pedal of an organ The volume of sound was even painfully great. Its effect reminded me of that of the peal of bells of old Trinity when I had heard them in the bell-chamber itself, all ringing at once (or clamming, as the technical phrase is) on occasion of a Presidential visit. So much for an episode. I leave B. again (D.V.) on Thursday morning for the Eastern Shore, to be absent all the remainder of the month. Love to all.

P. S.—Tell my dear father that I was not unmindful of his last birthday, nor of the fact that it was the beginning of his seventieth year. It filled me with very, very serious thoughts that have been working ever since. W.

TO THE REV. DR. KERFOOT.

PUSEY'S STAY MORE THAN OUTWEIGHS NEWMAN'S DEFECTION—CONFIDENCE FOUND IN THE DISCHARGE OF ONE'S DUTY.

BALTIMORE, September 10, 1845.

MY DEAR KERFOOT:

. . . . . .

The last packet of papers from England is full of very cheering matter, notwithstanding the panic about Newman & Co. I cannot yet bring myself fully to believe that story, and shall not until I see it announced as complete, whether by Newman himself or in some other official manner. Newman's loss I regret, on account of the effect it will have on his published writings. Faber's too, for the same reason. Oakley's and Palmer's could be borne. As to argument thencefrom arising—Pusey's stay more than outweighs Newman's defection; and inasmuch as the Oxford leaders were four, Pusey, Newman, Keble, and Williams, the argument is three to one against Oxfordism leading to Rome. But what have we to do with Newman, Pusey, Keble or Williams? It is very absurd thus suffering ourselves to be disquieted about what they have done, do, or may do. Nay, it is actually sinful—a direct transgression of our Lord's command, *μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον· ἡ γάρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς· ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς. Our line* is before us, and let us take care of that—I of my diocese and you of St. James's—and *trust God* with all the rest. If this were not our duty, I should be vastly more disquieted about the Diocese of New York than about Oxfordism in England. But that, too, is "without our line," and to be committed to Him who careth for His Church and is bringing good for His own out of the evil of man's waywardness and folly. For my part, I am encouraged by all I see in Europe and in this country. The signs of the times are signs of life; and all that is required in order to realize that they are signs of blessing is that every man should be at his post, doing his own duty with all his might, watching, and praying, and looking for his Lord. . . . Affectionately and faithfully yours,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

TO THE REV. JOHN D. OGILBY, D.D.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
BALTIMORE, September, 1848.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:

. . . Maryland is doing well—slowly. Virginia, I think, more rapidly. Never have I known a time when there were more and

clearer indications of progress within the Church than the sphere of my observation affords.

Much depends on you who have the training of our coming ministry. Thorough must be your watchword. Thoroughness in everything, but especially in Catholic piety. Our Catholic feelings and tendencies so far, except in a few noble instances, have been very sickly and unsubstantial. Men talk glibly enough, and complain loudly of others, but act very poorly, and are wofully deficient in applying their rule to themselves. I have been sadly disappointed of late in the practical working of two or three whom, theoretically, I had reason to count among my best men. The moment personal interests came athwart their course of duty to the Church (in the only way in which a churchman can know the Church, *i.e.*, that part of it to which they belonged), they have done just as the veriest Low Churchman of us all might have done. . . .

Faithfully yours, W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

TO MRS. WHITTINGHAM.

BISHOP CHASE AND HIS PERVERSE PRESBYTER.

CINCINNATI, September 30, 1850.

. . . Bishop Green told us a story which makes me sure of having old Bishop Chase on my side in the question about visitation rights. It seems he has in his diocese a Mr. Caruse, who came into it some months ago, a red-hot private-judgment man from Ohio. This gentleman settled "just under the old bishop's nose" (was the expression used), in a congregation then just completing a church toward the building of which the bishop had procured for them considerable assistance. The church was finished and Mr. C. wrote to the bishop to fix a time for its consecration. He did so, making announcement for the services, and in part for the communion. The time arrived. The bishop went to the town. On asking about the arrangements, Mr. Caruse said they were all made except those for the communion, "which," he coolly said, "he did not choose to have administered." "You must and you shall, sir," was the bishop's characteristic answer. "I will have it!" Accordingly, have it he did. But before the administration—before the beginning of the service—the bishop thought it necessary to admonish Mr. Caruse not to invite, as he had been accustomed, persons of all denominations in good standing in their respective Churches to join in the communion, reminding him of the rubric which requires persons to have been confirmed, or to be willing and desirous to be confirmed, before they are admitted to the communion. Mr. Caruse heard,

but not, as in the oriental phrase, to obey. At the time in the service for giving notices he notified the congregation that it was *his* intention to preach there that afternoon, and that on that occasion he *should regulate the services as he chose.* He then went on to say that the holy communion was about to be administered, and that on that occasion he invited persons of other denominations, etc.—using the very language which he had been accustomed to use, and against which he had been admonished by the bishop. How the bishop looked those only who have seen him when thoroughly angry can conceive. His admirable adroitness did not forsake him. He called his nephew, who was present, and requested him to find the rubric about confirmation. The nephew, pale and trembling with mingled terror and indignation, fumbled sadly, and seemed quite unable to do it. The bishop, never ready at finding places, tried to help him, but did no good. At last, after about five minutes, the place was found. Then the bishop rose, drew himself up to his full height, and said he would take the opportunity of adding to the notices his reverend brother had given, by reading a rubric of the Church relative to the administration of the communion. He then read it, and went on: his dear brethren of other denominations would perceive how high a gratification they would be affording him (Bishop Chase) by complying with the invitation which they had received from his young brother, because they would thereby be giving him a public and most solemn pledge of their having been confirmed or being ready and desirous to be confirmed; and that in proportion to the number of them who should come forward would be his expectation of candidates on whom it might be his privilege to lay his hands at the next visitation to that church. Of course after such a warning they took good care to stay away, and Mr. Caruse's insult to his bishop was thrown away for nothing.

So you see there are bishops besides me that have their troubles, and that I am sure of not lacking sympathy—and that in a quarter where I had most to apprehend. . . .

Your WILLIAM.

TO THE SAME.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING A BISHOP'S RIGHTS AND DUTIES DECIDED IN MARYLAND BROUGHT BEFORE THE GENERAL CONVENTION.

CINCINNATI, October 9, 1850.

. . . The Maryland matter is now fully before the Convention. It had the advantage to be brought before the other house in a form

most favorable to my position by a presbyter from Tennessee. On reference to the Committee on Canons they prepared a favorable report, putting the thing in still better shape. This stirred up the malcontents and they quickly put their forces in order. Pamphlets were thrown into the House of Bishops in such an irregular way as enabled me to procure a general agreement of the bishops to have nothing to do with them. Then they were distributed freely in the other house. So far as I can learn they have produced little sympathy in those by whom they have been read. Yesterday the time was almost entirely taken up with ineffectual efforts on the part of gentlemen from Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky to manœuvre to get the matter before the house in a mode more favorable to their designs than that it had already taken. . . .

TO THE SAME.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

CINCINNATI, October 16, 1850.

. . . One important matter was far advanced toward settlement last night. The final vote of the House of C. and L. Deputies in the Maryland affair was given, after the most persevering and desperate efforts to stave off action made by the very persons who had insisted on bringing the matter before the General Convention. The canon was so altered as to declare the right of a bishop to be such as I had claimed by "a two-thirds vote of clergy and laity, voting by dioceses." There has been much and some vehement speaking.

The opposition to sound church views has displayed itself in its true colors, and much good is likely to be done by the display. The gain in development of sound principle, and distinct and firm enunciation of it, in this Convention over any of its predecessors, is very decided. There is no longer any hesitation in the voice of the Church. That those who style themselves "Evangelical" are losing ground in all respects—still more in influence than in numbers—is evident to all, even to themselves. On the other hand, there is more union and solidity in the mass of sound churchmanship and steady determination to persevere in well-doing among its maintainers. In our house we have the Maryland question yet before us. —— has made two and —— three set speeches on the subject; but with the effect, so far as I can learn and observe, of settling the minds of their brethren rather in the contrary direction than in that of their own opinions. The former went to the length of calling the

language of the institution office in the Prayer-Book "abominable"—an expression of which I made the house take note at the time, and which he told me I might record with a pen of iron if I chose. I spoke last night, but declined meddling with his argument, and confined myself to the exposure of the absurdities and improprieties in the course he and —— were advocating. Doane fairly hugged me for it, and told me "it was the best speech he ever heard." We shall probably decide the case this morning. I have no fear of the vote. It will, I think, be the same as that of the other house by at least as large a majority. . . .

Your WILLIAM.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE JUDICIAL TRIAL OF BISHOPS.

1844–1853.

Before that the opposition to the official course of the Bishop of Maryland had grown to the extent of seeking his presentment on the charge of "tyranny and persistent persecution of his presbyters," it had "pleased the Almighty to visit this branch of His Church with sore affliction"—with "the greatest calamity which had as yet befallen" it.* The Bishop of New York had been tried and condemned. Bishop Whittingham's defence of and his manner of defending him had added personal dislike to party mistrust. He was harshly judged because he had not judged harshly. Grave and reverend at all times, he was beyond the possible charge of even that unbecoming familiarity which had given occasion for the attack upon his friend; but it was said that he had shown himself incapable of perceiving guilt in one who shared his own High Church opinions, and so had made himself partaker of the sins he had condoned. Very probably those who permitted themselves to think this would have found justification in the fact that of those who sympathized with Bishop Whittingham and believed Bishop Onderdonk to be innocent, many looked upon his prosecution as simply a persecution for opinion's sake. Bishop Onderdonk was tried on charges of

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* Dr. Evans, in The True Catholic.

immorality; but it is a fact that a scrutiny of the votes of the court which sentenced this unhappy man shows that they who found him guilty all differed from him on the theological questions which then agitated the Church, and some of them had impeached him before the world as a bringer-in of heresy, and had wished to have him brought to trial before the House of Bishops for an episcopal act which they condemned.

The Oxford movement, in its origin, must have commanded the sympathy of all American churchmen as setting forth the claims of the Church apart from its connection with the State. The tracts first printed contained nothing more than American High Churchmen had taught. But in the course of time Anglo-Catholic teachings seemed to lead to Roman Catholic conclusions, and in America, as well as in England, was heard the assertion that this was not only their tendency but their intent. Some who had rejoiced in the revival of an older church spirit changed their mind and wrote against what they had once accepted; while Low Churchmen who had from the first opposed all that was peculiar to the tracts, excepting the support of church independence, were embittered by protracted controversies and by increasing confirmation of their persuasion that Puseyites were Romanists at heart. Is he a Tractarian? was the test applied to every Episcopalian throughout the country. In Diocesan Conventions the condemnation of the tracts was insisted on, and in the General Convention was heard the need to defend the Protestant faith. Everywhere there was a party in arms against Puseyism, but in some dioceses these were in the minority, and in this respect the contest here differed from what was seen in England; here some of the bishops were denounced as propagandists of "the novelties which disturbed our peace." Notably in New York the majority were not carried away by their fears of popery, and the bishop was in sympathy with this majority.

The General Theological Seminary, situated in the city of New York, and of which the Bishop of New York was a professor, was watched with great jealousy, and with some reason if the Oxford theology was to be feared. So far as the influence of the resident professors was concerned, High Churchmanship lost its prop when Bishop Whittingham withdrew; for Dr. Ogilby, though holding the same church principles and being very estimable, did not kindle the imagination and draw out the affections of the young men as his predecessor had done. But for all this the spirit of many of the students was still less than formerly that approved by Evangelicals. What was everywhere else felt could not be shut out of the Seminary. In the last class which had the benefit of Dr. Whittingham's instructions was a young man—a lad rather—remarkable for his acquirements, his intellectual powers, and for his sanctity, concerning whom the Bishop of Vermont, by whom he had been taught, wrote to Mrs. Hopkins: "Our dear Arthur Carey was one of those who received the testimonials. He read a very masterly essay, and is most highly esteemed by all who know him. . . . It is a privilege worth more than all my losses and trouble to be instrumental in the forming of one such mind as Arthur Carey's." At the time when this was written—the day of his graduation—Carey was a year too young to be made deacon. Having obtained the requisite permission he remained a year longer connected with the Seminary as resident student. It was the fate of this most modest and shrinking of men to be forced into notoriety, and to give occasion for a disastrous party contest. His influence in the Seminary was great; a power due to his information and his clearness in imparting it, to his amiable qualities, to his unobtrusive ascetic holiness, and also to his "advanced views." It is a matter of surprise to read his clear setting forth of Catholic teaching on controverted points, accepted

now by many but then held only by "the advanced." His opinions on all that Catholics perceive to flow from the mystery of the Incarnation doubtless would have caused his rejection by any body of clerical examiners who glory rather in the Protestant than in the Catholic character of our Protestant Episcopal Church. But yet he might have passed as other students pass, been ordained, and have spent the brief term of life allotted to him in quiet labor, and have gone to his reward followed by the love of a few appreciating friends and the regrets of many poor for whom he chiefly lived. It happened otherwise because of a student much older than himself, of a very different stamp, and from whom he could not free himself, who delighted in shocking Protestants by the most offensive statement of what were supposed to be Puseyite doctrines, and all which he asserted to be the echo of Carey's sentiments. This man's evil report came to the ears of the rector of the church nearest to the Seminary, under whose pastoral care Carey supposed himself to be, and whom he therefore asked to present him. An examination proper under the circumstances led to a protest against the candidate's ordination, presented by Drs. Smith and Anthon. The bishop accordingly called together some of his ablest presbyters, before whom and the protesting doctors Carey was very fully examined. His opinions he frankly avowed, and ably justified from Anglican authorities. The bishop's counsellors were satisfied with his orthodoxy and recommended his ordination. On the following Sunday, at the proper time in the ordination service, Drs. Smith and Anthon, with formality, severally read their renewed protest; whereupon the bishop notified the people that the objections then offered had been already fully considered and set aside, and he proceeded with the intended service. The doctors expected no other issue, and reiterated their disregarded *Nolumus* by withdrawing with observation. To

the public they appealed in a printed pamphlet, which was followed by a flood of papers.*

In the next Diocesan Convention the party which felt itself to be aggrieved attempted to bring before the house the action of the bishop in the ordination of Carey, but a large majority refused to entertain the resolution offered. Again in the succeeding Convention the bishop was supported by an overwhelming majority. All this while there were whisperings of charges against the purity of the bishop. How they who first uttered them could have thus found solace under their grievance, or how some of those who heard them could have believed them and kept silence, is hard to understand. When at some earlier period a reverend New York doctor spoke to Bishop Whittingham about "evil reports concerning Bishop B. T. O.," his answer was, "If they could be proved they ought to be taken up at once, and decidedly no false shame or pity be shown." Neither shame, nor pity, nor fear for self would have prevented this life-long friend of Bishop Onderdonk from seeking the purification of the Church had he held the position professed by some others. Perhaps it was thought that Bishop Onderdonk stood too firm in the confidence of the body of his people, among whom all his days had been spent. An expression of the loving esteem in which he was held is found in a letter written to Bishop Whittingham about the time of the first scandal on which was based his subsequent presentment.

But how the bishop acquits himself in his services, his sermons, and his social intercourse! The gentleman in the parlor, the plain parish priest, fatherly, affectionate, and at home in the plainest farm-house. And so sound, so edifying, so consoling in his pulpit exercises.

* "I saw Carey in New York, and found him all I wished him—as much of a Romanist as I am a Genevan—quiet as a lamb and firm as a rock, neither puffed up nor cast down, but as modest and reserved yet gentle and open as ever."—From a letter of Bishop Whittingham to the Rev. T. B. Lyman, September 1, 1843.

As bishop, Dr. Onderdonk could be brought to trial, as the canons then stood, only through the agency of his own diocese; but as professor in a general institution of the Church he was assailable by those without. Efforts were directed against him as one unworthy of the position of teacher of the Church's candidates; but before action could be taken a change in the legislation of the Church in 1844 gave to any three bishops the power to present, which rested also in the Diocesan Convention. The concurrence has led to the unwarranted assertion that the legislation was intended to meet the wish to prosecute Bishop Onderdonk.

From the General Convention in Philadelphia three bishops, in the exercise of their newly acquired rights, went to New York City and examined the charges which it had been purposed to lay against the professor, and on the affidavits laid before them founded a presentment of the bishop. Each of the articles of the presentment, varying as to the circumstances, alleged one act indicating impurity common to them all; the earliest instance having occurred seven, the latest two, years before the charge was made. Of the affidavits it is remarkable that in one the deponent swore positively to facts which the statement itself shows could not have been known to the testifier; another, the evidence of a doctor of divinity, was flatly contradicted by the person to whom the assertion was attributed, and whose direct testimony could have been readily reached by the presenters. While of a third, also made on hearsay, the one fact which could admit of no explanation save impure motive—which having been detailed to friends during seven years had probably more than anything else caused the "evil report" charged in the presentment—had no other foundation than a misconception by the deponent of what had been told to him.

The trial, begun on December 10th, lasted till January 3d. The court was composed of seventeen bishops. The laborious duties of clerk fell to the lot of the Bishop of Maryland,

and an assistant, who was a presbyter. Six of his judges found the respondent not guilty of any one of the charges brought against him. To ward off the extreme penalty of deposition, those members of the court who believed in his innocence were forced to concur with others whose vote was that he be suspended; and such was the sentence. Recording his opinion, Bishop Gadsden, of South Carolina, declared:

> Good will come to our brother from this prosecution, for "it is good to be afflicted." No good will come to our ecclesiastical confederacy. I pray God that much evil may not come to it; that it may not be shaken to its very centre by the proceedings and decision in this prosecution.

In the angry discussion which followed, some argued that the sentence was null, inasmuch as suspension without limitation is virtual deposition. But this is not so; every greater excommunication is without fixed limit, but may yet be terminated.

By order of the court its records were published, and thus the scandal of this unhappy trial was spread wherever English is read. To my personal sorrow, as far away as Florence this publication was used to help in perversion from our Church. One result of this added evil is that an opportunity, which could not else be had, is given to those who are removed by time from the heated controversies of the day to estimate the guilt or wrong suffering of the condemned bishop. The testimony, the arguments of counsel, the several opinions of the judges are preserved. Among these last may be found that of Bishop Whittingham giving a scrutiny of the evidence and the reasons why he found no one of the charges sustained. This paper is very able;* it

* The Attorney-General of Maryland of that period, himself a lawyer of eminence, said to a friend of the writer that he had read the opinion of Bishop Whittingham with great interest; that he found in it marks of ability which would have placed the bishop among the foremost at the bar had he chosen law as his profession. And a letter of Bishop Doane contains this sentence: "I saw Mr. Binney yesterday; he spoke of your opinion in terms of praise which filled my heart with joy."

was so spoken of by those who held its conclusions, and the anger which it excited on the part of others evinced its telling force. He was denounced in print as being as bad as the man he attempted to shield, and private letters were addressed to him couched in the fiercest terms our language can furnish to a female. He can never have been forgiven by those who could so write to him.

Bishop Whittingham's judgment was not simply that the charges had not been proven; he believed that the accused was innocent. Soon after his return from New York he was asked whether from any cause he believed Bishop Onderdonk to be a guilty man. His answer was:

> No! I do not, for the same reason that Coleridge gave for not believing in ghosts—he had seen so many of them. I have seen on the part of the bishop so much familiarity—coarseness of manner, if you choose—that I know well how he could give ground for wrong accusation.

In his lecture-room students have received the fondlings referred to. The very same testimony was borne by one who witnessed the whole of the trial: he related an incident which occurred in his own family and in his own presence which only needed mistrust and the father's absence to give occasion for such charges as were hunted up for the prosecution.

The following letters, evincing in very strong language the bishop's convictions, were written to Mrs. Whittingham, the one immediately before the other two days after the close of the trial:

JANUARY 1, 1845.

DEAREST HANNAH:

A happy, very happy New Year to you, and many happier successors to you and the little ones around you like olive branches around their parent stem. I feel my absence from you on this day even more than on Christmas Day, and do not at this moment feel it the less from having to sit here in a close room, in a heated and impure air, with a noisy and silly lawyer bawling his weak arguments and wicked slanders against the persecuted bishop in my ears, while a

deliciously bright sun is shining in through the blinds, and all kinds of happy noises and other evidences prove that a balmy air is filling all things without with life and gladness. Oh, *what* a New Year is opening for poor wretched Bishop Onderdonk! Surely if ever a man was visited for his frailties and infirmities with the full measure of punishment in this life, he is that man! Surely if afflictions are the test of the child of God, and every son whom he loveth the Heavenly Father chasteneth, the Bishop of New York is a dear and favored child of God in Christ! And I do trust he is. And I do trust this persecution and deep wretchedness is the beginning of blessings to him. But not one in a thousand could have stood what he has undergone for the last three weeks, as he has with the quiet, calm, placid (afflicted but unperturbed, cast down but not shaken) demeanor. The case is now near its end, I trust; but what that end will be I dare not venture to guess. There is certainly a terrible amount of prejudice at work, and as certainly the testimony before us is of the strangest, most incongruous, most insufficient and unsatisfactory kind. Which will at last outweigh, the Searcher of hearts alone knows. When the lawyer who is now speaking shall have done, the summing up of the case will be finished—that is, all the lawyers' parts. There will remain only the reading over evidence and the opinions of the court. That, I do hope, will not occupy more than the remainder of this week, and then, if no detention for me grows out of the publication of the proceedings (as there may—for some are very anxious for their publication, although I think them unfit and the measure very unwise), I can be at home by Monday night. . . .

Your own WILLIAM.

Opposing the publication of the trial the bishop used stinging language, which he repeated when, at the next Convention, Bishop Chase reported the amount of sales and asked what should be done with the proceeds, as is shown in the appendix to this chapter.

NEWARK, January 4, 1845.

Bitterly to my regret, and I am sure to the loss of my concerns and duties at home, I am compelled to stay away from home some days longer, although the miserable trial has terminated. The way in which it has terminated—by the condemnation and suspension of Bishop Onderdonk—will compel those of us who think it a case of

extreme and cruel injustice, and a precedent of most terrible consequence to every bishop in the land, to take measures to set the thing before the Church in its true light. . . . I am now thoroughly fagged out in mind and body. Never have I so desponded with regard to the Church as I do now. Never has the future appeared to me so dark as it now does. What is to become of us who are set as marks for everybody to shoot at, God only knows. Mere innocence can no longer be any man's protection; malice and deceit can break any man down if allowed to work as they have in the case of poor Bishop Onderdonk. . . .

Your own WILLIAM.

A sweeping article in the presentment, alleging that "at sundry other times," etc., was thrown out. On this general indictment the condemned man continued to be brought before the bar of public opinion. Specific charges were thus brought by rumor to the knowledge of Bishop Whittingham. His course was that which he had complained had not been followed by others; he wrote to the accused:

BALTIMORE, January 28, 1845.

MY DEAR BISHOP:

It is with deep sorrow of heart that I again intrude on you in your perplexities, and this time with matter that must tend rather to increase than to relieve them. In the two days past I have again had evidence forced upon me of the diligence with which stories are circulated, that, unless put at rest, must effectually counteract whatever impression the report of trial and your statement might produce in your favor. [Here follow shocking relations, traced to a bishop and a presbyter]. . . . Now, my dear bishop, disbelieving these things as I do, I nevertheless cannot contradict them, circumstantiated as they are by name and authority, until they shall have been followed up and an explanation had. For the sake of all who desire to serve you, and the Church in you, it seems to me that such explanation *must* take place. These people tell me that I am a calumniator and unjust because of my treatment of the evidence against you on the trial, supported, say they, by such and such other known facts. I have said, and do say, that I disbelieve these stories; but have I a right to do so, when names have been given, before that the authors of them shall have been called to account? Forgive, I beseech you, the plainness

and urgency of this representation. It is the honest fruit of anxiety to serve you effectually, and of the true love of

Your faithful and affectionate friend and brother,

W. R. W.

He himself obtained from one (perhaps from others) whose name had been given as authority for the charge made by the bishop, an utter contradiction of the whole story. The correspondence, which is on file, shows that there was not a shadow of truth in the dark slander.

It is to the credit of other bishops who had pronounced the accused guiltless that they stood ready to renew the humiliating charge did truth demand it of them. Bishop Whittingham wrote:

TO THE REV. WM. N. PENDLETON.

FEBRUARY 18, 1845.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:

I was told yesterday that you have reported that I am making investigation into the stories propagated concerning Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, since his trial, with a view to presentment. I beg you to do me the justice to make it known, wherever you may have so reported, that I have made inquiry concerning these stories, and am satisfied that they are cruel calumnies. They were personally inquired into by Bishops Ives, Kemper, and DeLancey, with the declared intention of presenting if they were found true. The result was, in the language of Bishop DeLancey, as reported to me, "That to his mind there was not the slightest ground for belief in anything unfavorable to Bishop Onderdonk from these rumors. On the contrary, that this case only furnished another evidence of the wicked and cruel endeavor of his enemies by slanderous reports to crush him into the dust."

Very faithfully, your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

The sentence of indefinite suspension not only deprived the Diocese of New York of the ministerial services of its bishop, but made it a matter of doubt as to how these services could be supplied. Under the then existing canons the Standing Committee was the ecclesiastical authority

during the vacancy of the bishopric only. But the see of New York was not vacant. Nor could their disability be cured by the consent of a bishop under suspension from the exercise of all ministerial functions. So strict constructionists interpreted the law. Under these circumstances some of those who did not believe Bishop Onderdonk to have been justly condemned, yet, probably, persuaded that he could never again be received throughout the diocese with the confidence that should be given to its head, thought that relief from their difficulties might be well obtained through the resignation of the bishop. Mr. Ogden, who had been his counsel, and was his faithful friend, wrote to him in accordance with this view. Bishop Whittingham unwillingly gave his assent to this letter; while Bishop Doane, whose concurrence had been asked—who had been constrained to refuse to ordain on the request of the Standing Committee and the concurrence of the bishop "so far as he could canonically give his consent"—did not believe that this was a case in which the bishop under sentence could consider only whether by the sacrifice of himself he should give peace to the diocese.

In 1847, by a change in legislation, a standing committee was made the ecclesiastical authority during the suspension of a bishop. Under this canon Bishop Whittingham twice accepted an invitation to visit the Diocese of New York, having first asked for and received a written expression of the hearty concurrence of the bishop. In 1850 was given a further relief under the anomalous condition of matters consequent upon the sentence of indefinite suspension—the election of a provisional bishop was authorized.

At the time of the General Convention in 1847, a petition was presented to the House of Bishops praying the removal of the sentence resting on Bishop Onderdonk. This was rejected, as might have been expected. Like efforts were renewed but always with like success. It could not have been otherwise, save by the self-stultifying of his judges

or a change in the character of the house. The bishop was not condemned for acts of imprudence, but for immorality; they who had found him guilty must have considered his persistence in the assertion of innocence to be an aggravation of his sinfulness.

When the first petition was refused Bishop Whittingham offered a "protest against the entry of the report of the special committee appointed to consider" it. The history of this incident is thus related by himself:

HOUSE OF BISHOPS,
Feast of Ss. Simon and Jude, 1847.

MY DEAR BISHOP:

I had hoped and most fervently desired to have it in my power to write to you in a very different tenor from that which I am constrained to assume for this communication. But God in his inscrutable wisdom has seen fit to allow your trials to be prolonged, and has permitted the well-meant efforts of your sympathizing brethren in this house to come to naught. My only remaining privilege is to inform you of the ground that I have felt bound to take on occasion of the action of the House of Bishops, of which you will be otherwise informed.

When the question was about to be put on the passage of the resolution concerning your letter and memorial, I rose in my place and gave notice that on the adoption of the resolution I should demand the privilege of entering my solemn protest upon the journal of the house.

Accordingly when the question had been taken and the resolution was adopted, I rose to read a paper which I had prepared and signed as my protest against the action of this house. I was hindered by the interposition of several bishops, two of whom spoke successively against my claim, one of them maintaining that it had no other foundation than a practice exclusively confined to the British House of Peers, and characterizing it as "lordly and baronial." I replied, stating the grounds on which I claimed to make solemn entry and record of my dissent from the procedure of the house and of its reasons. A general dissatisfaction with my claim was expressed and many entreaties urged for its withdrawal, but no reason given that seemed to me sufficient. My persistence rendered a resolution refusing leave indispensable, and that, as some of the bishops declared themselves sensible, would have looked badly on the min-

utes of the house. Renewed instances were, therefore, made to me to withdraw my claim, to which, in consideration of the quarters from which in part they came, I yielded so far as to consent that if the house would hear my protest solemnly read before it, and allow it to be entered upon file, I would not insist on its record upon the minutes. To this there was unanimous consent, and I accordingly read before the house and deposited with the secretary for entry upon the file the paper, of which I deem that I owe it both to myself and to you to put you in possession of a copy. It is herewith enclosed.

I hope yet, my dear brother, to see the day when the softened hearts of your brethren shall consent to remove the miserable burden under which you are still left to groan. In the meanwhile, I earnestly pray that the God of all comfort may be pleased so mercifully to strengthen and support you as that this your present suffering may redound to your increase in all spiritual grace and benediction and preparation for an exceeding great reward of glory.

Most faithfully and affectionately, your friend and brother,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

Rt. Rev. BENJ. T. ONDERDONK, D.D.,
Bishop of New York.

The reasons for his protest, as stated in the paper enclosed in this letter, are:

First, Because the said report contains affirmations concerning the grounds on which the sentence of suspension was pronounced against the Bishop of New York which I cannot admit to be true, and because it embodies an argument which I believe to be false, fallacious, and dangerous in its principles and tendencies.

Secondly, Because the said resolution is by me regarded as inconsistent with the character and duty of an assembly of bishops of the Church of Christ, and at variance with the fundamental law of love by which believers in the Gospel of Jesus Christ are bound, as tending to the denial of justice and to the unmerciful treatment of a suffering brother.

Thirdly, Because I regard the said suffering brother as innocent of the immorality and impurity for which he was condemned, having so found him upon his trial, in which, in discharge of duty, I sat as his judge.

Fourthly, Because if he had been guilty, the sentence of suspension for three years from all exercise of the office and functions of

the sacred ministry is as severe a punishment for the offences of which the verdict of the court sitting in his case pronounced him guilty as can be found on record, as at any time inflicted by just sentence of a regular tribunal in a pure branch of the Church of Christ.

Fifthly, Because the sentence has been borne by him submissively, meekly, and with godly quietness and humility.

Sixthly, Because there is ample evidence of the honest and godly conversation of our suffering brother during more than three years last past.

And, *lastly*, Because it is a duty explicitly enjoined in the Holy Word of God, if any be overtaken in a fault, to restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; the same Holy Word assuring us that sufficient to such an one is the punishment inflicted of many, so that he ought to be forgiven and comforted lest perhaps he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.

The unhappy Bishop of New York died in 1861. The last effort in his behalf was made in 1859, when the General Convention met in Richmond. A memorial was presented at that time to the House of Bishops praying his restoration to the exercise of ministerial functions. When a resolution was offered looking to the remission of his sentence, a motion of indefinite postponement was made. Whittingham sprang to his feet and denounced the motion as cowardly, cruel, and wicked, and the motion was laid on the table. After earnest discussion, during which much warmth was shown on both sides, the bishops gave their judgments *seriatim*. The Bishop of Maryland read his opinion. Having been before silenced for too plain speech, he had prepared what could be printed if necessary; thus was preserved the judgment which may be found in the appendix to this chapter.

The result of the trial of Bishop Onderdonk has been attributed to the manner of his defence, and we have been told that it was the often expressed opinion of Bishop Hopkins—who was one of the majority and who to the last believed that the presentment was just and was proven—that "had the accused candidly acknowledged certain impru-

dences of manner which had been misunderstood and which had given rise to scandal, and which therefore he had carefully guarded against for more than two years past, and if in regard to the past he had thrown himself frankly upon the mercy of his brethren," there would have been no trial at all. This opinion may well be doubted. There are times when condemnations are demanded. A few weeks before the accusation of the Bishop of New York, his brother, Henry U. Onderdonk, Bishop of Pennsylvania, was charged with intemperance, and would have been brought to trial. The charge was true, for the use of stimulants, first taken to deaden severe bodily pain, had increased beyond due measure. The poor bishop confessed his sin and asked the sentence of his brethren. He was suspended indefinitely. The only charge against him was that he had been intemperate in the use of intoxicating drinks. Never again could it be brought against him; for at the risk of life and at the cost of much suffering he at once broke away from his habits and abstained wholly from what had betrayed him into error, and his subsequent life was that of an humble and honored Christian. Yet not till after twelve long years would his brethren consent to the removal of the stigma of suspension. Without a doubt the humiliation of the Bishop of Pennsylvania strengthened the expectation of getting rid of his more offensive brother. Bishop B. T. Onderdonk would have gained nothing by the confession of anything that he could have admitted with truth—supposing that his subsequent life and death were not a lie. During all the days of his humiliation he never admitted that he had been guilty; and he could not have committed some of the acts on which the presentment was based without being conscious of guilt, and to have admitted these unclean acts would have secured his removal from his office as certainly as the proof of them in open court. A large body of his people continued to maintain his innocence, and he died protesting it.

To what was due this scandalous trial, this "sore affliction?" We can find no answer that does not give pain. God forbid that we should grant it to be possible—what yet was clearly asserted at the time—that any church party could purposely magnify rumors against the moral reputation of a bishop—could hunt him down as a hyena because they considered him to be an obstacle in the way of their efforts in God's behalf. But it may be believed that had not Bishop Onderdonk been so obnoxious because of his ecclesiastical position, private grievances would never have been brought before the world. Evil reports were more readily circulated against the man who was charged with bringing popery into a protestant church. The author of the "Life of Bishop Hopkins," referred to above, speaking of those opposed to "the Church movement," writes: "They are always stronger in personalities than in divinity, and would any day rather attack their opponents on moral grounds—if they can get a chance—than on theological;" and while he does not pretend that the rumors against the one brother were not held to be as true as the confession of the other, he adds further on: "They thought that a personal triumph over these two High Church bishops on moral grounds alone would be more than equivalent to the condemnation of their doctrines."

Alas for the constantly recurring evidence that the prospect of humbling an opponent is a great quickener of the sense of virtue! At the time of the trial the prosecution—the counsel justified the title—looked for the plea that the accusation was the result of a conspiracy seeking other ends than those avowed in the presentment. It was not more than intimated at that time, but friends of the respondent then and afterward fully believed, and as freely declared, that the presentment was the outcome of the defeated effort made in the diocese to destroy the bishop. The evidence by which it was intended to disprove this assertion not having been presented, was published separately. When examined

by as judicial a mind as that of Dr. Hugh D. Evans, it was pronounced to be not conclusive in favor of those who presented it. "The pamphlet is written," he said, "to prove that Bishop Onderdonk was mistaken in supposing that the attack upon him grew out of the divisions in his diocese; and it proves that he was not mistaken—even more fully than an unblushing article in *The Courier and Enquirer*, by which the fact was avowed." Dr. Evans is careful to free the Low Church party from the charge of having conspired the ruin of the New York bishop. This was the work, he says, of "the cabal which counterfeits that party." *

While yet the Onderdonk case was discussed in the first bitterness of controversy, coupled with hard words against "the six" were heard threats of bringing the bishops together again; and especially against a particular one of the six. Perhaps the writer of these threats should be alone held responsible for his wild utterings, albeit he was an active agent in procuring the indictment of the unfortunate bishop. But when, in 1852, judgment against a doctrinally obnoxious bishop was again sought on "moral grounds," the reproach of an unworthy motive was very freely cast upon the three bishops who lent themselves to the effort. And, without a breach of charity, one may readily reach the conclusion that their intervention was an intermeddling.

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* In the second volume of The True Catholic, page 658, may be found a dispassionate but strong review of the proceedings against the Bishop of New York, in which the fitness of the presenters for the duty they assumed is tested by their avowed principles. It closes with this paragraph: "If such proceedings as these were tolerated in our courts of criminal jurisdiction, they would have enough to do. No man could be secure that he would not be indicted every term for all the crimes in the statute book. The reason assigned for this strange proceeding is that the Bishop of New York is of 'evil report.' Any man would soon be of evil report who was treated as that bishop has been—of evil report among his enemies, among the credulous, among the haters of the Church, among those who disliked his doctrines. In what other sense can the Bishop of New York be of evil report while he has the love and veneration of two-thirds of his Convention, and while no man who avows himself a member of his diocese can be found to sign the memorial which commenced the proceedings against him?"

The Bishop of New Jersey had undertaken, among other schemes, the financial support of two costly educational institutions. The burden proved beyond his strength. He was lacking in that care in money matters which is the result of mercantile training, but no doubt of his honesty was entertained by those to whom he was first responsible, and who had the opportunity to investigate all his money transactions. There were not lacking, it is true, some in the diocese who were ready to give an injurious interpretation to his misfortunes. In 1849 one of these evil disposed "introduced into Convention a resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate; it was discussed fully and was rejected by a unanimous vote, the mover himself lacking the courage to say Aye! The matter was then supposed to be settled; but not so; this Mr. H. did not cease to agitate in under-currents" until at last, in 1852, the diocese was startled by the information that others were more jealous for their honor than they themselves. While the fact was not yet certain, a letter received by Bishop Whittingham informed him that

> Bishop S. the other day told me that M., McI., and B. have determined to commence proceedings against our good brother of New Jersey. I remarked that such a movement shall not go forth without protest from me, as one of the House of Bishops, on the ground of party malice; for nothing but party malice could have prompted such an impudent intermeddling with the affairs of another diocese and its bishop. If this information be correct, I shall be tempted to introduce an inquiry into the fraud practised on the Church by, etc.

In the life of his father Dr. Hopkins has given a graphic description of the incidents of "The New Jersey Case." It would be folly to offer a prosaic relation of the same facts. It is enough to say that, although the bishops twice met as a court, Bishop Doane was not brought to trial. A first presentment was withdrawn through fear that it had lapsed through an unauthorized postponement. The second was dismissed on the ground that all the charges contained

in the first had been examined by a committee of the New Jersey Convention before the date of the second presentment, which, in all important points, was the same as the first. But the presenters, Bishops Meade, McIlvaine, and Burgess, were persistent. Eleven months after the meeting in Burlington a very full court assembled in Camden to consider their third presentment. With the exception of the intervening Sundays the court sat from September 1st to September 15, 1853. Important decisions of the last court were overruled, all of which matters have been definitely settled by subsequent legislation.

The court, having decided that they had the right to try, notwithstanding the action of the Diocese of New Jersey, did not proceed to trial. This conclusion was reached through the action of a committee of seven bishops not members of the previous court, appointed to consider whether a trial might not be avoided, and who reported that it was not necessary—a judgment to which the presenting bishops did not assent. Thus ended what had been a source of anxiety and care to the Bishop of Maryland as well as to his persecuted friend.*

Bishop Doane, on each occasion of appearance before the court, managed his own case, and so secured the exclusion of the lawyers on whose aid the presenters had relied, but no step for the defence was taken without previous counsel. Bishop Whittingham had carefully prepared himself for his

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* Dr. Doane was not the only bishop who had brought on himself trouble and obloquy through indiscreet zeal in behalf of Christian education. The president of the court had suffered in like manner. Dr. Hopkins, in the life of his father, says Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, "had lost all his own property in an attempt, like Bishop Doane's, to build up two noble schools in his diocese," and being on the committee of seven, and its leading spirit, "he knew how to sympathize with pecuniary embarrassments arising from such a cause." This does not convey a right impression. The Bishop of Georgia had indeed lost all his property, but he had sacrificed it. Being in no way personally responsible, he had assumed debts which had been dishonestly incurred by a presbyter who had in other ways brought discredit on himself and on the diocese of whose schools he had charge.

duties by consultation with the eminent members of his diocese on whose judgment he was in the habit of relying in all matters requiring legal experience. And in order to be present at the trial, he twice sacrificed needed rest and the benefit of travel in Europe. To their decision the court added a *dictum* to the effect that, in their opinion, the presenters had acted in good faith. Their saying so implied the need of meeting an accusation.

With those who had previously entertained it the conviction still remained that an occasion had been hunted up against a Tractarian.

Had the opponents of Bishop Doane prospered in 1852 or 1853, what would have followed? It is not the part of charity to admit the thought that there was a defined purpose to persecute, on any pretense, a High Churchman. But it is certain that the purpose has been attributed to the Low Church leaders. More than once the warning was given to the Bishop of Maryland: "After Doane—Whittingham!"

True it is that the New Jersey troubles came from without, yet it is pleasant to quote the opinion of Bishop Whittingham respecting his opponents within his diocese. In a letter dated April, 1850, having special reference to one of the most open and persistent of his antagonists, the Rev. Mr. Peterkin, the bishop wrote: "In all the various difficulties that have occasioned me so much pain and anxiety in the administration of my diocese for the last few years, it has been my happiness to preserve unbroken my personal relations of good-will, courtesy, and brotherly kindness with *all* my brethren of the clergy. Not only has the case of Mr. Peterkin been no exception to this, but his demeanor to me has been kind (even when it might, by others than himself, have been regarded as not respectful) and his expressions of cordial regard free and frequent. . . . I have an entire respect for Mr. Peterkin's honest earnestness, and a sincere regard for him on account of his many amiable and engaging personal good qualities."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

An Incident in the House of Bishops not Recorded.

During the Convention of 1847 the Presiding Bishop, Bishop Chase, ordered to be read a letter received by him respecting the sale of the "Trial of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk," published by order of the court, and an account showing a balance of $266. He asked what disposal should be made of this money.

Whereupon the Bishop of Maryland offered a resolution to the effect that this House knows of no authority by which it may claim or exercise the disposal of moneys accruing from ecclesiastical trials under Canon III. of 1844. Having read his resolution twice, he added that if he might give his private advice to his brother who was so anxious as to the disposal of the money, it should be to *take the thirty pieces and buy a potter's field.*

Several members of the House cried out in anger, "This is an insult to the House—a direct insult to the court! Shameful! Abominable!" While the President exclaimed, "Mercy on us! Mercy on us! Did any one ever hear the like?"

The mover of the resolution sat down, and after the outcries had subsided rose and said: "Brethren are under a mistake in supposing this House to be insulted. This House knows nothing about the matter to which the words that have given such umbrage have reference; it knows nothing of the court or of its proceedings, except in their result. I have spoken with reference to a certain court in words used, at the time the act was done, in the court itself. But the question now is on my resolution."

"It is not seconded!" said the Presiding Bishop and half a dozen others.

Western New York seconded it.

Maryland asked if any member of the House could gainsay any word of the resolution? He read it again slowly, and asked, "Is it not *true?* Can this House dispose of these moneys without laying itself open to assault from any and every quarter as disposing of moneys not its own——"

"Another man's! What man's?" said Ohio.

"*No* man's," replied Maryland.

Connecticut moved an indefinite postponement.

Maryland asked the House to look at the effect of postponement.

Western New York declared his intention to speak if the question were open.

Several said it was not; and Illinois hesitated about deciding.

Meanwhile 12 M. had arrived and several members demanded recess.

Bishops came around Maryland, told him he was wrong, and urged an apology. Vermont said he was sure he had not meant, what yet the words implied, censure on him and others. Maryland disclaimed it. He had reference only to the act.

After recess Maryland was begged by New Jersey to apologize, and answered that he intended to do so. Having obtained the floor he said that during the recess several of his brethren had told him that he had been wrong in saying what he had said. That he yielded his judgment to theirs, frankly conceded that he had been wrong, and now wished to apologize and explain. That in order to hinder the explanation from appearing to destroy the apology he would make the apology at once, and now begged pardon of the House collectively, of its individual members, and of its President in particular. He would say in explanation that the word that had fallen from him had been used now (as he had told the House he had used it three years before) with reference not to persons, not to the court as a body or to its members in particular, but to an act of the court. If the language used was not susceptible of such application, but was necessarily personal, it was an error of his judgment in thinking it otherwise. He did not intend his words to be personal; he had no intention of applying them to any individual or body, but to the act of receiving moneys for the proceedings of the court. Having made this explanation he repeated his apology and begged pardon of the House and of all its members.

Then reading his resolution, he said that if any member thought anything in the resolution to be derogatory to the House he would cheerfully alter or withdraw it.

Connecticut said that would be best, and he was sure that his brother, the Presiding Bishop, would withdraw the paper from the House.

Western New York said he had a resolution to offer directing its return, but would waive it if Illinois would withdraw the paper.

Connecticut again urged Illinois to do so, promising to take the responsibility of the money.

Illinois reluctantly consented.

JUDGMENT DELIVERED IN COUNCIL, 1859, IN RE B. T. O.

Reverend Fathers in God, and most dear Brethren:

Called on in my place among you to give my sentence in the matter of the petition of our suffering brother the Bishop of New York, and to declare its reasons, I humbly crave of you permission to do so in all simplicity and plainness of speech, as before God our common Father and Judge, and in view of the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

I understand this matter to be before us in our present capacity for the first time. We entertain it neither as *the* court to the sentence of which it has relation, nor as the court of revision, nor as a court of appeal. To us there is no foregone conclusion in the case of our petitioning brother, but we take it up on its merits as it now presents itself, untrammelled by any bonds of adherence to expressed opinion, or consistency in uttered judgment, or restriction from inquiry into any grounds of present action.

We act under the solemn charge given at our ordination "so to minister discipline that we forget not mercy" in the exercise of the "grace of God" then "given" us, for the communication of "the spirit, not of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness;" but our mode of action is by virtue of special legislation regulating the exercise of our official gift with relation not only to the kind of action now besought of us, but also with especial reference to this very case.

The canon of 1847 constitutes the whole number of the bishops of this Church entitled to seats in the House of Bishops, a Council of Remission or Modification of Judicial Sentences, in which the major number may remit or terminate, absolutely or contingently, any judicial sentence, and so cause it utterly to cease.

They may do this on any grounds appearing to them. They must do it on grounds satisfactory to their own consciences, to the extent of enabling them to appear before God and make answer for themselves as having done it on their own responsibility.

To that end, it will not do to fall back upon the previous decision which created the sentence concerning which their action is invoked. The very members of the court which uttered it act no longer as members of that court, but in a distinct, and in some respects even higher and more responsible capacity. Whatever possibility of error inhered in the constitution or procedure of the court in 1844 is now to be taken into account. The position of our memorialist

before us is not simply such as that court made it, but absolutely such as the possibility of error by misconception or misconstruction of the respondent's position, or of its own duty, on the part of that court, may have left it.

We are here, thirty-five in number. Twenty-two of us know nothing, but as all the world may know, of the action of that court. Before them it comes a divided action of eighteen brethren, five of whom are gone to their account, and one is absent through disability. Of the thirteen remaining present, three by the lamentable necessity of their position were from the outset arrayed against the memorialist under the obligation to bring down upon him the visitation of his errors to the uttermost, and to make all honest and truthful efforts for the establishment of the evil construction of his actions under which he lay by their arraignment. Ten remain as having given judgment in the case. Of them, a majority deemed the sentence now under consideration just. Seven now present were of that opinion; but three others were then, have ever since remained, and are still under the honest and deep conviction that their brother endured grievous wrong, under a most unhappy misconstruction of what God alone can judge without mistake, the thoughts and purposes of the heart.

It is a man sentenced by such a divided judgment that comes before this body asking remission of his sentence. Are the twenty-two members of this Council, to whom the case is new, to assume the infallibility of the seven whose verdict put the memorialist under the agonies of moral torture which he has endured through so many years, and from which he now implores, not, what it is not in the power of man to afford him, complete release, but such remission as the termination of his sentence would secure?

Nothing less than such an assumption would be implied in any demand by this Council from the memorialist of unqualified acknowledgment of the justice of the sentence from which he craves relief, or of unreserved profession of penitence for the alleged offences for which it was inflicted. The six members of the court who found the respondent "not guilty in manner and form as charged" are arraigned with him when he is told "nothing but confession of that of which you were found guilty can be received as evidence of such a state of heart and mind as entitles you to the relief you ask. It is true the end of discipline is penitence, and under the Gospel of Jesus Christ the truly penitent is as though he had not sinned; but you are not penitent; you have not made confession; your contrition is insincere, because incomplete; you were

found guilty, therefore you are so, and till you own it, for you there can be no remission."

With the petition so dismissed his acquitting judges are relegated to confusion and contempt. It is simply impossible that this Council can commit so great a wrong by an assumption so unwarrantable as that of the infallibility of the court whose sentence is in consideration.

The twenty-two new members of the Council, then, are to consider the sentence as from the outset impugned by a proportion as two to three, or even reckoning in the accusers, as two to four of all the members of the court from which it emanates. Unless twelve men are certain to be right, when only six are of a contrary opinion, uncertainty inheres in the matter before us from the outset.

I waive all questions of relative competence or incompetence from previous knowledge or ignorance of the character, conduct, training, and temperament of the respondent or from previous bias by personal or party associations or relations, in his favor or against him. High considerations plainly forbid their introduction, and as they affect my judgment in this Council, *I* know, whatever others may, that the case can well afford to strike a balance in that account.

Our petitioner, then, asks remission of a sentence about the original justice of which there must remain ground of doubt.

He comes admitting errors and indiscretions, but not the crimes charged and sentenced. Unable to plead guilty, he nevertheless makes no complaint against the sentence or its consequences, and professes full and hearty penitence for the fault—of which his conscience accuses him before God—of having, however innocent in heart of the deep imputed guilt, afforded in other wise occasion for the great scandal of the Church, in consequence of which he has been such a miserable sufferer.

He comes pleading entire immunity, for the long course of more than fifteen years, in thought, word, and deed, from the evil propensities for the alleged indulgence of which his sentence was inflicted. Of the heart this Council cannot assume to judge. Its rule is laid down: "Charity believeth all things; charity thinketh no evil." Of the outward manifestation of the heart, in life and conduct, he brings the strongest testimonials from those who have had best opportunity to know, and from the voluntarily rendered evidence of accusers turned into admirers by the force of a godly, righteous, and sober life, passed in all honesty and holiness.

He comes recommended, as regards worthiness, by the vote of an overwhelming majority of the Convention of his diocese, accredited as the true expression of the sense of the diocese by the very opposition

that has been attempted, insignificant in point of numbers, and in part indecently violent in tone and unscrupulous in the use of means.

The diocesan voice, then, attests and confirms the testimony of fellow-worshippers, neighbors, friends, and intimates, that our memorialist is a thoroughly repentant and reformed man. We are certified that in him discipline has done its work and produced newness of heart and life, freedom for half a generation from liability to evil report, either for error in religion or viciousness of life, and such virtuous and pure manners and godly conversation that he is apt and meet to exercise the office of a bishop to the honor of God and the edifying of his Church, and to be a wholesome example to the flock of Christ.

An assembly of self-righteous Pharisees might doubt the wholesomeness of an example of signal discipline working its perfect work in a chief shepherd of the flock of Christ; but so cannot a Council of Christian bishops, successors in the apostleship which Peter bore, and preachers of the Resurrection of which Mary Magdalene was allowed to be first witness.

Believers in that Word of God which calls David a "man after his own heart" cannot presume to question the fitness even for high trust in holy things of a man once signally fallen, but recovered from his fall by true repentance. It must be a low and world-bestarved faith that could be afraid to show the mind of Christ in setting a restored sinner in a high place of ministry to Him whose glory is in saving sinners. In what is the Church distinguished from the world, if not in its estimate of the value and power of repentant faith? The unbelieving world may well hold at arm's length, in bitter hardness, the once besmirched subject of disciplinary infliction, for it has no desire to wash away the stains of guilt and contumely; but the Church of Jesus Christ has, in her Saviour's blood, that which, applied in faith, sets repentant Peter on a level with loving John, and enables him to find in his own experience of the bitterness of sin the means of strengthening his brethren after he is himself converted.

I must regard it, therefore, as a dangerous Novatian error to suppose that our repentant brother is disqualified, by his long endurance of castigation, for restoration to a chief ministry of the Church. To admit that were a sad denial of the Gospel in its power and glory. It would be an enthronization in the Church of an intensified Pharisaism, holding the ministry of the grace of God in subjection to the claims of a self-separated Puritanistic human righteousness. Far be it from us to bow down to such an idol! I speak as

before my Maker and our Lord Jesus Christ at his second coming to take account of my stewardship. I do verily believe that his glory would be advanced and his kingdom spread by the restoration to high office and work of a suffering penitent, such as this Council has sufficient evidence that the memorialist is held to be. The glory of the Church in purity has been vindicated in his case by half an official lifetime of enforced abstinence from holy ministry. The glory of the Church in remission would be still more signally displayed by his rehabilitation, to preach the efficacy of pardoning love by his very presence, and win a sinful world to humility and contrition by his own example as a punished and pardoned servant of the sinner's Saviour.

These considerations terminate the case with me. I should regard myself as prostituting my character as a member of this Council if I listened for one moment to suggestions of expediency wherein justice and mercy alone are to be regarded. A burdened minister of God's high justice, and a proportionably privileged administrant of the mercy which is his dearest attribute, I cannot crawl in the dust and lay my ear to listen for the distant howlings of the wolves that prowl around my Saviour's fold. Such profane libels as some that have been obtruded within the precincts of this Council teach me only to pity and beware of the spirit which they manifest.

With the voice of the diocese of our memorialist I am concerned, as a member of this Council, only so far as it is testimony to his present life and character. What the diocese, or the members of the diocese, may wish or desire, ought to have no weight in my decision of the case before me, because the question is of *justice* and of *mercy* only—have the ends of justice been fulfilled? is the door of mercy open?—not who or how many will be pleased with my decision? I know of no more dangerous or dreadful error than the intermixture of considerations of expedience in judicial administrations. The most horrible barbarities have ere now been justified to the seared consciences of the perpetrators by that ingenious masterpiece of the inventions of Satan, the maxim that the greater glory of God and the good of the Church are to override the dispensation of justice, punitive, remedial, or remissive. Once admit that claim, and you have no security against the breach of every commandment and the violation of every attribute of God in his professed service by men using his commission and believing themselves entitled to his reward. Rather would I appeal, in the faith to which our Lord has promised miracles, for the immediate Divine interposition to cleanse and defend his Church, and wait for that, than dare to seek

in the armory of the father of lies for a weapon to be wielded by my puny arm in maintenance of a cause which needs and admits no such miserable advocacy.

Vested rights in the case there are none. The diocese took its bishop, when it chose him, for better, for worse—as a man, frail, fallible, and liable to all human infirmities and their consequences. If justice permits and mercy requires the restoration of a bishop to an official efficiency diminished by the consequences of his errors, the diocese has just as much and just as little claim to keep him out of office as if the loss of speech or of limbs had in another way diminished his efficiency by creating incapacity for duty. The Church of God may be advantaged, for aught I know, by the suffering of the diocese; I *do* know that it *must* be advantaged by my doing my duty, in discharge of the trust committed to me, under influence of those considerations only which are derived from the eternal justice and truth of God and the riches of the Gospel of Christ, with no admixture of my own fallible human judgment of expedience in results.

Besides the alleged claim of the diocese there are, of course, no pretended rights, all else existing having been created in view of the possibility and probability of the very action in which we are now engaged, and in presumed contemplation of its favorable result.

CHAPTER XIV.

FLORIDA, WALES, AND ENGLAND.

1852.

Despite the opposition of a minority, the relation of which has filled too many of our pages, the close of the first decade of his episcopate found Bishop Whittingham at the head of a diocese continuously increasing in prosperity, proud of their bishop, and fondly devoted to him. In no respect was the growth what he was assured it ought to have been, what he suffered himself to believe it would have been under the guidance of a more able and faithful leader; but he would have been blind not to perceive and ungrateful not to acknowledge the blessings received. If year after year he felt constrained to urge—sometimes in not measured language*—greater efforts and more hearty self-devotion,

* In the address to the Convention in 1849, he said: "Notwithstanding discouragements and drawbacks in many parts, a steady growth, though slow, pervades the whole. Unexpected signs of life exhibit themselves here and there, just when one might despair, if anything in the Church of God were ever to be despaired of. An emergency which has threatened destruction seems only to have concentrated interest and effort. Determination to be up and doing grows out of hopelessness of long, vainly looked-for help; some seeming casualty occurs by which negligence is shamed; some hidden wheel of Providence brings on a movement where all was apparent death and desolation. Of such indications of deep-seated though dormant life I have witnessed more than one during the past year, and am sustained under many and great discouragements by the belief that what has come to pass in parts may in time be hoped for on another scale, in reference to the whole. Surely were it not so the bishop of this diocese might well fold his hands in utter despondency or sullen determination, to let indifference and indolence do their work and reap their reward! For it is hard to imagine how, as a body, we could be less careful of our own interests *as a body;* as a Church, less sensible of our oneness *as a Church;* as a diocese,

everywhere could be seen an advance in prosperity. Old parishes were strengthened, decayed ones revived, new congregations formed, religious services multiplied; and he rejoiced in the fact that there were outward signs of spiritual growth. In schools religious training of the young had never before received so much attention, and those more especially under his care as diocesan were prospering, and the press contributed to the strengthening of his hands. If all were not of one mind, yet the great body of the people looked in confidence to their bishop, and in the Diocesan Conventions a majority of three to one supported every measure that especially concerned him. Once only did this majority oppose his earnestly expressed wishes.

Besides *The True Catholic*—the monthly magazine which, under the able control of Hugh Davey Evans, contributed so much to the spread of Catholic truth in the diocese and beyond its limits—with the sanction of the Con-

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less alive to the reality of *diocesan* concerns and obligations. I have ever found the sons of Maryland in profession proud of their soil and ancestry, and concerned in whatever pertains to both, because it does so; but in practice, with a few noble exceptions, I have been able to discover little of the depth of that profession. What has the Diocese of Maryland done for its own missions, to which its attention has been directed, with the most urgent entreaties for effective action, now for the ninth year? What has the diocese done for the dissemination of the blessed Book of God and the incomparable manual of devotion in our Common Prayer and offices throughout its borders? What has the *diocese* done for the support of its college and the schools which are leavening the lump with a holy leaven that affords promise of better things, at least in the rising generation? *Something!* Yes; but so pitifully small, the zealous liberality of some three or four score individuals allowed for, that to state it would be enough (or ought to be esteemed so) to make the ears of a churchman in Maryland to tingle!" The next year, with no like terms of reproach, he said: "I have visited a larger number of parishes and congregations than ever before in one year, and have found throughout all a more equable tone of quiet prosperity and gentle upward progress than has ever before appeared to me to be so distinctly perceptible and so generally diffused. . . . The result is, on the whole, encouragement and hopeful anticipation for the future. That the trials of the Church are to increase in proportion to her faithfulness to her trust of the deposit of sound doctrine, and the rule of holy life, and pure worship, I cannot, indeed, doubt; but there seems to be a deepening of faith and strengthening of attachment to right rule and practice, slow, perhaps, but, except here and there, pretty uniform and steady."

vention which had recommended its support, the bishop had founded a diocesan weekly. During two years it had had a moderate success; then the editor's health failed, and he was obliged to give up his charge. A year longer it was maintained through the liberality of a few laymen who responded to the bishop's requests. In 1849, when the publisher could continue it no longer, the bishop, admitting that "there are objections, and strong ones, against religious journals," plead for the revival and better support of his paper as a safeguard against what could not be avoided, "and more as a means of bringing about unity, wanting which we want strength and life and everything." "How shall we come to unity," said he, "if we do not approach each other to understand each other? — if we are not brought into mutual contact to embrace and stay each other up? For these ends, and as conducing to these ends, I long for the free circulation, through every parish and congregation, of an intelligent religious journal, furnished with such matter as should keep the sons of the Church in Maryland continually in mind of their common aims and interests." But he plead in vain. The Convention refused his request on the ground that "this disinterested and self-sacrificing effort of the bishop would impose on him an additional care and responsibility."

The reporting committee were correct; every additional means of fulfilling the duties of his office, beyond the routine of ordaining and parochial visiting, was to him ever, in a pecuniary sense, an addition to his responsibilities. Without a doubt, in many instances the prosperity of the diocese was due to the readiness of its head to make personal sacrifices and to take upon him the burden of responsibility; and in consequence, besides the apostolic care which came upon him daily, and from which there could be no escape, he was tried by others which were not known to the world, and from which the worldly prudent would have been free.

His diary* for 1847 is blank for all the other days of the year, but on January 7th he wrote: "I begin this year in much perplexity, owing mainly to my entanglement in pecuniary difficulties in which I have suffered myself to be involved by several imprudences." A list of his extravagances follows. He had unwisely engaged to pay for the publication of selections from the Prayer-Book in German; had advanced money for the establishment of a church school for girls in Baltimore; besides giving board to a city missionary, had paid what must have been the greater part of his salary; had been spending too much on the library of St. James's College; and, lastly, had been guilty of "very blameable indulgence in book-buying." Was this last item a token of self-indulgence? As in the end, in accordance with a long-formed purpose, he gave his library to the diocese, so his practice had been to purchase and lend to his clergy books that he knew they needed and could not buy for themselves. Imprudent he may have been, but one can hardly join him in his self-accusations. What indulgence can a bishop allow himself if not in the procuring books for others and himself? He says:

To pay this and to meet ordinary expenses and charities presses me exceedingly. I have felt the advantage of being thus tried. It drives me to Him whom I am so prone to forget, and forces me to live by faith, at least in those lower minor matters in which our blessed Lord has commanded us μὴ μεριμνᾶν, and thereby permitted us πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιῤῥῖψᾶι.† That I may be enabled so to do is my agonizing prayer. I need it not only with reference to my worldly cares, but even more with reference to the discharge of my spiritual duties. I feel myself daily more and more unfit for them, unready, unable. Nothing but the mighty power of God, working by and in spite of my insufficiency, has

* During two years the bishop continued his long habit of making a record of the events of the day, or rather of jotting down what was, in general, a mere reminder to himself. But after this his "journal" can no longer claim the name.

† Has commanded us "not to be careful," and thereby permitted us to "cast all our care on him."

brought me thus far without miserably disgracing the holy cause in which I am engaged and the blessed name I bear. How such a one as I can be allowed to bear it is daily more and more a wonder to me. I am continually longing for the power of shrinking into some station of perfect subordination and concealment; the lowest menial office in a religious house would be a blessing to me; and when I read of such a life, an unspeakable craving for it swells my heart. And yet I know this is miserable cowardice, and feel guilty almost as a deserter. God help me. He only can hold me up. Oh, hold Thou up my feet from falling.

Then comes a list of duties from which he shrinks as unprepared, and a little further on what it is pleasant to read:

Yesterday brought me a letter overflowing with expressions of love and gratitude from one of the three presbyters who, in October last, were joined together to procure my presentment by the bishops. Poor fellow, his loss (to him a dreadfully severe one) had softened his heart, and my letter of warm condolence melted it completely.

When the bishop first made Baltimore his home he occupied a house in Pascault Row, in Lexington Street, but being persuaded that there must be some local cause for continued sickness in his family, he rented another in Courtland Street. Here he remained until April, 1846, when he returned to Pascault Row but not to his first dwelling. In July, 1849, he took possession of the newly built episcopal residence, with a salary changed from $3,000 to $2,500 and a house rent free. The change was not a reduction. Such minute statements are of interest to some readers. The dates of the change of residence fix the time of a remarkable incident.

While the bishop was living the second time in Lexington Street he frequently met two Jewish ladies, sisters, who had become Christians. They told him of their anxious hopes touching their father; their trust that he would some day recognize the fulfilment of the hope of Israel; of his gentleness toward them, of his evident desire to learn all

that concerned the ground of their faith; they told of their reading aloud the New Testament that he, in an adjoining room, might hear its teaching without openly admitting that he was listening; and of how they could at times hear his weeping when the story of the betrayal and rejection and crucifixion of Jesus thus reached him. They did not doubt that he at least feared that his nation had slain their Lord. "But ah, bishop," said they, "you cannot know how hard it is for a Jew to abandon the convictions of his early life."

One day these sisters sent for the bishop in great distress. Their father had been stricken during the night with paralysis and was speechless. They could not say that he had ever openly confessed Jesus to be the Messiah, but yet in other ways he had shown to them that he was a Christian believer, and they were fully persuaded that now, in prospect of death, he would avow his belief. They implored that the bishop would baptize their dying father. He found the poor man as one dead, save that his breast rose and fell, and that his eyes had the power of motion. These eyes were glowing with a preternatural light, and it seemed as though all the power of his lost faculties had concentrated in them. Having prayed that God would keep him from error in word and act, the bishop stood by the bedside of his hearer, who had no power to show assent or dissent, and preached to him Jesus. How must he have been moved when under such circumstances he expounded and testified the kingdom of God! Would that his words could be given, or even the outline of his discourse, even as every reader of the Book of Acts must wish that we had been told what Paul said to his brethren in Rome when he persuaded them concerning Jesus from morning till evening. We can know only what he himself told me. The exposition of the faith was followed by the baptism of the "infant" father—the speechless one for whom his daughters answered. The son of Abraham being now, as was trusted, within the better covenant, the minister of Christ continued his discourse as

to a Christian brother about to enter upon the promises, when, as he spoke of the resurrection and the second coming of the Lord in glory, suddenly the paralytic rose in his bed to a sitting posture. With arms outstretched, head raised and his beaming eyes fixed as on a far distant object, he cried out in a loud voice, "*Even so, Lord Jesus! come* QUICKLY!" and as the last word was uttered in a sharp loud tone his hands were clasped, and he fell back dead—what we call dead.

When the bishop entered on his new life in Maryland, the vigor with which he had been able to meet his duties persuaded him that he had overcome the weakness of breast and throat which had so long troubled him. Before the close of his first episcopal year he had discovered his mistake, for, as we have seen, he could not audibly address his first Convention. He continued to be liable to a sudden temporary loss of voice through imprudent over-exertion. The close of 1851 was marked by a severe attack, in some respects like to that which had sent him abroad in 1834.

On return from the District, after a couple of days of severe duty and severe weather, he was taken ill, on December 10th, with combined pneumonia and bronchitis. Threatened severity was averted by "heroic" treatment, and he was forced to remain in bed only two days; but a most acute sore throat was followed by an entire loss of voice, which indicated the need of entire seclusion, enforced when his physician could do so. Two months were spent in temporary improvements through the appliance of irritants externally, and nauseants and astringents and nitrate of silver internally, and relapses because of change of weather and of trying to talk to persons who had to be seen. At length, February 12th, the physician said positively, "You must try a Southern climate," and drew from his patient the reason for his answer, "I cannot!" viz., an entire lack of the means of travel. The next day Mr. Evans, the bishop's most intimate friend, called and said: "Dr. Chew has said that you

must travel. Some of your friends hearing this, and that you are probably hindered by want of means, have sent me to offer the means if you will consent to go." Painful as it was to the sick man to be thus an object of what looked to him like charity, he could not but accept the kindness.

Two weeks later, accompanied by Mr. Condit, a nephew of Mrs. Whittingham, he took passage in New York for Savannah, intending to decide there to what point farther South he should go. As if to make the coming contrast of climate more strong, the steamer left port in a northeasterly storm with snow turning to rain. The passage was rough and otherwise disagreeable, yet not without benefit. Even the first day in Augusta saw the beginning of improvement, and a lessening of pain gave an excuse, if excuse were wanted, for exercise of voice, which could yet only reach a whisper. He declined polite attentions offered him, but in his hotel he found a sick man, a former member of his own diocese and the son of a friend, who, being a physician, had begun to ask himself whether he had not wrongly resisted early promptings to become a clergyman. The bishop was sent for, the story of a life was told, and the result of long interviews was that the physician gave up flattering prospects and began at once to prepare for entrance at the Seminary. "Such, thank God is the result," writes the bishop, "of my having gone to Savannah rather than to Charleston or to the West Indies direct. He considered, according to his custom, the leading as providential, and, estimating highly the promise of the young man to whom he had been sent, he was glad in thinking that he had done more for the Church in his constrained absence than he would have been likely to do if he had been engaged in his ordinary diocesan duties.

It was decided, notwithstanding an array of threatened difficulties, to try St. Augustine. After nearly a week's stay at Augusta a coasting steamer was taken, which landed the party at Picolata, on the St. John's River; thence, the next

day, a four-horse coach took them and others across the country to the end of their journey.

From St. Augustine the bishop wrote to Mrs. Whittingham:

MARCH 9, 1852.

. . . In our getting here, and in our accommodations when here, I have been most agreeably disappointed. They are luxurious, pampered citizens who have spread such appalling reports of hardships and privations to be encountered in Floridian travel. My daily duties in Maryland have prepared me for them and enabled me to laugh at them. One-half of the time that I am on visitations I travel with more exposure and bodily fatigue, and am lodged with more discomfort than I have been in Florida. At Picolata the crowded house compelled us to sleep without beds, to be sure; but we were civilly and carefully attended to at night, kindly treated in the morning, and in our hostess found not only a lady—the widow of a gentleman once a judge and the governor of the State—but, what was still more pleasing, a staunch churchwoman. Then the ride across was nothing like the bugbear it had been made to be. To be sure, the poor horses were wretchedly thin, and looked as if they had to bear against each other to hold each other up. Any of them would have served capitally for a model for Rosinante. And now that we have found out how they live we do not wonder. A canoe came in this morning with two men, one sitting in the stern, a passenger apparently; the other paddling in the bow. As he neared the shore a comrade hailed him: "Been for grass, Jose?" "Yes, see what a nice bundle I've got!" "Why, yes, that's pretty good!" was the reply, as the man held up a bunch of the rankest, coarsest sedgy stuff that you can imagine, about as much as one might cleverly tuck under the left arm, without great inconvenience from either bulk or weight. We thought it must have some medicinal virtue, and have been gathered as "yarbs" to be sold to the "doctors" or made into Indian medicine. But when we asked what use was made of it, they told us "for horse feed." Poor beast, that had to make breakfast, dinner, or supper on that scant morsel! But, poor as they were, our shabby horses pulled five of us, besides the driver and any quantity of baggage, through the sandy eighteen miles to St. Augustine, in a little more than four hours. It was a sadly unimproved country; yet far from ugly. Much of it was in tall pines with grass covering the ground between, and herds of cattle, here and there, seen in the distance. Other parts had underwood—the

palmetto, blackberry, and honeysuckle, and a few dwarf palms. Of flowers we saw at least a dozen varieties—violets, blue and white, primroses, columbine, honeysuckle, and several that we did not know; some of them in quantities. The day was favorable for travelling in a sandy country, being cloudy, with now and then a drop of rain, and ever and anon a gleam of sunshine. We reached St. Augustine just in time for dinner. Our first application for reception was unsuccessful—the Planters' Hotel, to which we had been recommended, being completely full. But we were fortunate in our disappointment, for it led to our settlement in the private boarding-house of Miss ——. . . . Thus, you see, I am, thank God, comfortably settled for a time, surrounded by everything I could desire to facilitate my recovery, and in enjoyment of the very things I have been looking for in order to that recovery. The day, to-day, from early dawn until now (near sunset), has been one of the most delicious of Italian days—we have no weather, at any season, to compare with it; but one of our very best July days would most nearly approach for warmth, before the sea-breeze sprung up, and for brightness through all the day. Even while I write, the delicious, invigorating breeze is breathing in the window at my right, as I sit with both windows open, just able to bear my thinnest coat.

TO HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET.

St. Augustine, March 13, 1852.

Dear M. H.:

. . . That morning I took my walk alone. Suppose you go over it with me. You see, we have not far to go from my bedside to begin it, for I sleep on the precise level of the street, and only twice the length of my room from the front door. By the by, neither that nor my room door has lock or fastening in order, so that there is nothing to hinder anybody in all St. Augustine from paying his, her, or its respects to me at any time of day or night. A very nice grey-hound, Fanny by name, that accompanied us over from Picolata, has called sundry times. Well, we turn to the right as we go out of the front door, and when we have done so you must keep on my right, for two reasons: First, as you perceive, the street is not over wide, it being precisely fifteen feet from our front-door sill to the wall of the opposite house. That house, by the by, is a shed, and that shed a wooden shed, and the boards of which it was once put together not over intimately acquainted; and in it resides a negro family, and as it has neither fire-place nor chimney, when they have a "cook" extraordinary the signs thereof are very manifest in the

form of smoke issuing horizontally instead of vertically, to the no small consternation of us foreigners the first time we saw, without understanding, the phenomenon. Now, as I do not wish you to be crushed by a chance cart, or get into a quarrel with the donkey that drags it, I think it better, for that reason, that you should be next the wall. Secondly, the street is rather sandy, and unless you take the firm ground that extends a foot and a half from the house, you will probably get over shoes before we have gone ten steps. About that number, or a few more of yours, have taken us to the corner of the street, which is also the corner of our house. Before we turn let us look down the street (we are facing the south). Is it not calm, quiet, pleasant? Indeed, I think it is. It is more to my taste, a thousand times over, than Broadway in New York with all its glories. Fifteen feet wide and a quarter of a mile long, with about eight houses in its whole length, it looks as if disorder and misery could hardly find their way into it or through it. See that fine oleander over the way, a little lower down on our left hand! This hard winter's frosts have bitten it a little, to be sure, but it is getting bravely over them, and showing its green all the more tender and fresh for its late misfortunes. They have done it good, no doubt, as misfortunes always do when rightly taken. But, frost-bitten or not, you see it is more than twice as tall as I am, and large enough to be a roost for a whole barnyard tribe of fowls. What a figure it would cut in your Aunt Margaret's conservatory! As for your ma's plant-room, it could afford to stand on the pavement in the yard below, and yet fill up all the room with its branches only. But grand as it is in its majesty, its neighbor, the fig-tree a little further on on our side of the street, compels it to hide its diminished head. Being deciduous, it has had the advantage of the oleander, and felt no harm from the three or four frosty days of the "hard winter." It is now in almost full leaf, brilliant in young green, and with figs from the size of a marble downward. Many an apple-tree in your Uncle Sim's young orchard is smaller, and never a one with half such a show of vigorous life. But it will never do to stand commenting on everything in this style, or it will be impossible to get through our walk before church time. So we must turn the corner, and keep straight on in this little street—it is three feet narrower than that in front of the house—for two whole squares, or blocks, as they call them in New York. Our walking is better here, for the northern side of the street has a strip of something very like turf, produced by the strenuous endeavors of a little struggling grass to keep the sand together. It is brilliantly green, at all events, and soft and elastic to the tread.

The houses we pass—all one story—are very like Maryland houses of the same kind, and so need no remark. At the corner of the second square we turn to the left, and then look southward, out into fields, through a short piece of another street just like this in which we have been walking. We go on in that direction half a square, and another street intersecting this invites us to turn again, as before, westwardly. Now, you see, we are almost in the salt meadows. How they stretch away, right and left, although it is not very far across them! St. Augustine is situated very much as Jersey City is (or used to be before the salt marsh was all filled up and built over), on a quasi island—a peninsula—of firm land connected with the main by an isthmus of salt marsh. Even that, you see, is intersected by two inlets—a creek, they call the nearest one, and a river, San Sebastiano, the other.

Look there, to our right, about a quarter of a mile distant in advance of us, you will see the bridge (perhaps two hundred yards long), built on wooden piles, across which is the only western approach to the city by land. But we are going to a much smaller bridge, across the Matanzas Creek, some twenty or twenty-five feet wide. It is almost low tide, I see, and the sun is shining obliquely on the water, so as to display everything beneath and within it to the best advantage. Shall we stay to see the fishes feed? They are as busy as bees, and almost as numerous. The oysters, too, are opening their mouths for their semi-daily supply with great unanimity. How many of them there are! How strangely grouped and clustered! But we must go on. This causeway, about a hundred yards long and six or eight wide, you see, is a very solid stone-work. It is a Spanish construction, and all that they did appears to have been solidly and substantially done, whatever we may think of the taste and judgment exhibited in adornment or arrangement. But here solidity is all that is wanted, and it has been attained. The low parapets (or garde-fous the French call them, I believe) are a good deal weather- and foot-worn (for they are broad enough for one to walk on), being made of the soft stone quarried on the island called "Coquina," inasmuch as it consists of fragments of innumerable shells cemented together, as it seems, by the carbonate of lime into which they, in part, and in part their former inhabitants, have been converted. The "coquina" is used for almost all the building done here. The fort itself—large and durable as it is—is constructed of nothing else. It quarries easily, and works easily, but it wears easily, too, as this our causeway shows, in its almost guttered parapets, recording many a thousand footsteps by which they have been

impressed and their surface gradually and unevenly abraded. Now we are over it, we are to go through that quiet, inviting, green and shady lane before us. Which of the houses at its entrance do you like the best? That on the left, double-storied and spacious, with its porches and out-buildings? or that on the right, cottage as it is, with verandahs, and *jalousies*, and juttings out, and corners like a patent little snuggery? Both have something of a Spanish air about them, and yet I venture to be quite sure that both also exhibit an admixture of Yankee ingenuity and industry. Be that as it may, it is rather unpleasantly evident that their keeping has not been equal to their planning and execution. They have an air of neglect and slovenliness which, unhappily, seems to belong to everything in the South. See how those fine orange trees, large as our peach trees, around the house on the left, are overgrown with poison vines! Mark the frequent gaps in that noble hedge of Spanish bayonet (a kind of aloes plant, I believe), which might so easily have been kept up in a climate like this! Then the garden can hardly be called a garden, though there be an old negro, stooping down as if he were at work in it; but what he has been doing, or what he is going to do, I doubt whether you or I can guess from any traces visible of plan or of work performed.

Hear that mocking-bird, sitting on yonder blasted orange tree. He sings as merrily as if the tree were not a monument of ruin that came over this place in the terrible winter of 1835, when one fell frost killed all the thousands of bearing trees that had before made St. Augustine a garden of the Hesperides, and ruined two-thirds of its inhabitants. But think of the temperament shown by letting a dead tree stand (there are hundreds of them everywhere about the town) from 1835 to 1852! How delicious is the fragrance from that young orange orchard opposite! There, some industry has been shown in rearing a few young trees. The blossoms are just opening now, almost a month later than usual, in consequence of the severity of the season. Neither are they now full or vigorous as usual. Nevertheless they fill the air, for a few hundred yards around the orchard, with the most exquisite perfume. Now as we leave that scene of enjoyment, reaching the end of the lane, we turn from under the shade on our left, around the corner, in that direction, and find ourselves in open sunshine on the margin of the extensive flat through which the San Sebastian creeps out toward the sea. Then, first to the right, and, now that we have turned, behind us, is the bridge again. The road to it runs parallel with the lane through which we came, but at some distance on our

right, that is, to the north. We have turned southwardly, and are to meander with the San Sebastian, at a respectful distance, enforced on us by its marshy borders, toward its mouth. Hark! do you hear that little low chattering? Where can it be? Here, there, and everywhere! Before us, behind us, and on either hand! It is the angry menace of myriads of myriads of soldier-crabs, shaking their little claws in defiance as they plunge into their earthen homes, alarmed by the motion of the ground, tremulous beneath our steps. And for every soldier-crab there seems to be also a sea-snail, less pugnacious and far less nimble than his companion, but busy looking for his food, as he walks about on his one foot, during the browsing time of low tide. Do you hear that scream? See! there goes the maker! It is a sentinel crane. He has seen us, and told his companions of us, and having flown a few yards merely by way of proof of watchfulness, settles again, to mark our further proceedings. But he perceives that we are making toward him, and now he screams again, in a different tone. Ah! there they go! Ten, twelve, thirteen. They do not wish a nearer acquaintance, and, sure of finding food anywhere in the midst of this swarm of animal and insect life, move off to change their feeding-ground. The marsh hens, you see, are much of the same mind. They, too, fly off, although with a shorter flight than that of their tall cousins. They are nimbler, and less afraid to be recognized. Now, after a quarter of a mile of this marsh-skirting walk, we come to a mound or hillock, the remains of a fortification thrown up in one of the sieges (for this, the oldest city in North America, has had three sieges), and the best position for the southeast view of St. Augustine. But there, a view of the end of my paper compels me to send you back, post-haste, to Baltimore, and to hurry round by the mouth of Matanzas Creek, and the arsenal and the barracks, back to my room to be ready for the mail.

Your loving father, W. R. W.

The father and his young daughter could not spare the time to watch the fish feed; but we may do so in order to enjoy with the bookman his minute observation of natural objects. His note-book tells of that morning walk so pleasantly described:

Linger on the bridge to see the various species of small fish feeding. It was nearly ebb. The sun shone on the water, which varied from six to eighteen inches and was running out. Several of the

smaller kinds were feeding on the moss (or weed) that covered the shells of the oysters clustered in thick beds over the whole bottom. The oysters themselves had their shells open about one-sixteenth of an inch, and were sucking in and expelling the water. Meanwhile there were here and there small crabs running about among them, picking up whatever they could find that suited them on the bottom. The larger kind of fish—five or six inches long—lay, head upward, at an angle of twenty degrees in the direction from the sun, watching for gnats, etc., on the top of the water, at which every now and then one or other would make a snap. These were very sober and dignified in their deportment, but the lesser ones feeding on oyster moss were very frolicsome and restless. They would nibble here and there, as if testing, and then dart off to another shell, or dip down into the hollows between the oysters, as if looking for choicer morsels; then one would come up, and the feeder would sometimes edge aside as if to make room, sometimes turn round and give the intruder chase, often turning in the chase and becoming the pursued, the other taking up the pursuit with equal apparent earnestness—just as dogs do in their sport.

All this is familiar to one who has peered into the teeming waters on our Southern shores. But before leaving St. Augustine our traveller had an opportunity to witness a mode of feeding not so often seen.

The peninsula on which St. Augustine is built is sheltered by the northern end of the island Anacostia. To reach the beach open to the full ocean one goes by water two or three miles, either to the island, or to the mainland on the north. To one or the other of these shores the bishop was in the habit of going every few days, whenever opportunity offered, and always with increasing benefit and delight. "Surely," he exclaims in one of his letters, "there never was a more perfect beach for the enjoyment of sea air, ocean view, and unlimited field of exercise."

One afternoon, with a party of friends, he went over to the north beach in The Doctor.

Almost immediately after landing we witnessed an extraordinary feat of porpoises. We landed just within the northeast point, where the shore is very bold. A few yards from the spot eastward a school

of porpoises was in eager chase of a school of mullets. The tide was about three-fourths ebb, running fast. Wind fresh, northwest. There were about twenty porpoises, one with a calf swimming by her side. They were leaping, turning, and darting in the water and out of the water in all directions. They swam in to and under the mullets to pick out their prey, and just as this would reach the surface of the water a porpoise would seize a mullet (six to twelve inches long) by the tail, throw the fish twelve or fifteen feet into the air, turning it over and over, and itself rise bolt upright in the water, half length (five or six feet) out, and opening wide its pig-like snout catch the mullet as it fell. This was done a dozen times at least—twenty times—by several porpoises. They never failed to catch the mullet when it was thrown up, although more than once they did fail to throw it up. We all saw this, the school being not ten yards from us. Nothing could be more amusing than the sight. We fairly shouted with laughter and excitement; but the fish, nothing daunted, kept on steadily at their work. Thus you see, dear girl, for want of other news, I give you *a new fish story*.

It was while he was taking exercise on this "magnificent beach, hard and smooth as marble," that his natural voice came back to the bishop suddenly. The words above, "fairly shouted," make it necessary to say that it was at a date earlier than that of "the fish story." His companions were his nephew and a friend from New Jersey also seeking health, Dr. McChesney. Leaving the latter, who was not so fond of walking, the bishop had rambled on a couple of miles picking up shells. On his return his friend handed him a paper, saying, "See here, bishop, what I have found on a log!"—a copy of verses, having reference to the bishop, written while seated on a log cast up on the beach. They began with a recognition of the voice of praise from the natural objects around, passed on to an expression of regret that God's consecrated servant could not with the clapping waves lift up his voice in gladness, and ended with a prayer that, to his own glory and for the good of men, God would give back what had been taken away—at least this is what recollection testifies. The bishop opened the paper, and read aloud the verses in clear, natural tones. On hearing

this answer to prayer, the doctor, "though a grave man of at least as many years as myself," so wrote the bishop the next day, "an ex-Secretary of State and senator, danced and capered around me like a young kid for very surprise and joy."

Although the bishop had thus found again his voice, after having almost made up his mind that he should never recover it, he still suffered from severe pain in throat and breast, besides having other symptoms which showed the need of entire rest. This, with his sense of duty, he could not have. With all its advantages of climate* St. Augustine cannot be a very cheerful place to one of a sympathetic nature "because of the numbers of invalids, some in advanced and hopeless stages of disease, who throng its narrow streets and scanty public walks, and fill its houses to overflowing."

Our patient who says this was in a boarding-house which was but a hospital, although in other respects all that he could desire. Both in the house and out of the house all the time of his stay he was engaged, as one of his temperament could not but be, in giving religious instruction or imparting consolation. Nor was this enough. He had to make provision for the burial of one who died in the house and to take care of his bereaved wife and daughter. He thanked God for the opportunities of good, but they did not conduce to his own restoration.

Before the time of his purposed curative rest had ended, somewhat bettered in general health, he decided—because he could talk—that he must attend a meeting of the House of Bishops in New York. This decision was thus announced to Mrs. Whittingham:

. . . Then, please God, I shall set my face once more toward *you*, but with no little chagrin in being compelled to set it at first beyond you. I must go to New York to the meeting which calls me

* The bishop testifies on his own observation, and the greater experience of others, that it is greatly beneficial to patients suffering from bronchitis, but probably injurious to such as have their lungs softened.

North before my time, and consequently shall be (if prospered in my journey) in Newark instead of by your side, when at my first long journey's end. That, I own, takes off half the pleasure of the homeward turn. But it is my duty, and "duty first" is a lesson I hope to practise, even in such cases, with cheerful acquiescence. It may be, too, that I shall feel your absence in another way. I know not what to look for from our Council, but it is within the range of probability that matters may there be broached that would make the power of consulting and advising with you of the last importance to me on every account. . . .

On April 19th Bishop Whittingham left St. Augustine. The first part of his journey homeward was by the way he had come; but, contrary to his expectation, he passed through Baltimore on his way to New York. The meeting which he dignified with the name "Council" was held on the 29th. It had been called to respond to the courtesy extended to the American Church by the venerable society in inviting her to take part by representation in the closing services of their jubilee to be held that summer. The Bishop of Maryland fully appreciated the benefit which might result from this token of sympathy between the mother and daughter churches; but when in the meeting it was proposed to elect delegates, he opposed the motion on the ground that they were self-constituted, without even a majority of the bishops, and thus without power to delegate representatives of the Church, or of their own body. The Bishop of Vermont maintained that they had the right to act, in view of their position as Bishops of the Catholic Church, having all rights as such not expressly ceded or limited by the constitution or canons of our Church, and being not hindered from convening in council by any such limitation. Maryland fully assented to this view, but pointed out that in order to the exercise of that right there must be some binding mode of convening. The bishops in the American Church can only assemble as a House, or on the call of the Presiding Bishop. It was true that in this instance all but two of their body had requested the Presiding Bishop to

issue a call for this meeting, but he had chosen not to do so; and, assuming that there could be no meeting, had further assumed to delegate to two bishops the power to appoint representatives of the Church. The call which had brought them together had been issued by one of these bishops, and they who had chosen to answer it were a voluntary assemblage. The force of the objections was admitted, and the motion to elect was lost. Still the bishops were resolved to send representatives of such a body as they were, for some present wished to go as such. Then was offered the objection that a dominant duty should prevent the absence of any bishop from the country, one of their brethren having been presented for malfeasance, as all knew,* though informally, and all should feel bound to comply with his expressed wish and sit as his judges. It was then proposed that they should ask for a postponement of the trial, but it was shown that the Presiding Bishop had no power to make it. Nevertheless (the Bishop of Maryland alone dissenting) two bishops and the secretary of the meeting, a bishop-elect, were delegated as representatives of the Church; and one of these obtained from Bishop Chase a postponement of the trial, which brought about a second presentment, through fear lest the first had been thus voided.

In relating what occurred at this meeting, it is said that the Presiding Bishop had "assumed to delegate the power to appoint representatives of the Church." This is Bishop Whittingham's statement. A reason for leaving St. Augustine sooner than he would have done otherwise was the obligation which he thought to rest on him to resist gradual assumption of power, which might, in time, change the nature of the office of Presiding Bishop.

The year before Bishop Chase had published in England an address to the archbishops, bishops, and other authorities of the Church of England and Ireland, congratulating

* No one of the presenting bishops attended this meeting.

them on the protection of the Church by the civil power, and praying the Lord of Hosts to "sustain the union of his servants Moses and Aaron." To this paper he had affixed his signature as "Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." Bishop Whittingham conceived himself to be bound to protest formally what are the canonical duties and rights of a senior bishop, and to declare that "the opinions expressed as if in the name of the Church in the United States are to be received as simply those of the Rt. Reverend Philander Chase, Bishop of Illinois."

When the Diocesan Convention met on May 26th, the bishop was able to take his part in the religious services and to preside, but he could do no more; his address was read for him. Discouraged by this relapse, he said in his address:

> Should it be the opinion of this Convention that the bodily infirmity which now reduces me to the necessity of employing the voice of another in communicating to you this report, makes the provision of episcopal services needful for the diocese, I shall rejoice in surrendering half, or any larger proportion, or the whole of the income I receive in virtue of my office, in order to the maintenance of an assistant bishop, when elected; and will most cheerfully consent to such election: or if it is thought preferable, I am ready, at once, upon the slightest intimation of a wish on your part to that effect, to resign the jurisdiction of the diocese, and retire, with thankfulness for the privilege, to a ministry less unequal to my abilities.

In answer to this proposal, the Convention unanimously adopted the report of a special committee, which said, "that while scarcely any circumstances could induce the Convention to weigh the measure of the bishop's resignation of the exercise of the episcopal office, under existing circumstances they would deem it wholly inadmissible;" and in strongest terms expressing "confidence in his eminent qualifications, grateful esteem for his ministration, and affectionate attachment for his person"—recommended him to "suspend all

episcopal duty for a year—to travel, and to prolong his absence beyond the year if necessary." This action of the Convention, "not at all in his thoughts," could not but be very gratifying to the bishop; but "thanking them for the warm affection which breathes in every word of their resolutions, and praying God to give him grace in time to come to deserve so rich a possession," he yet could only promise that if he "could effect them without neglect of duty or injury to the diocese, he would consider their recommendation to be a binding obligation."

To discharge this obligation, something more was necessary than a kind leave of absence and ability to provide for the episcopal needs of the diocese. Happily this was not lacking. There were in Baltimore generous laymen who, through reverence for his office and personal attachment, were now and on all like occasions glad to give of their abundance to further the needs or wishes of their bishop.

The necessary funds having been offered, it was decided to go to England for the summer, and passage was taken on a Liverpool steamer to sail from New York on July 10th. The last act in behalf of his diocese was proof-reading of "The Sacrament of Responsibility," the publication of which the bishop had secured.

The voyage was made a little longer by avoidance of ice, but it was pleasant. When a second Sunday came, and no one else could be found to give an opportunity for joint worship to the large number of passengers, the voiceless bishop felt forced to read the full morning service and to add an instruction to the Gospel.

While taking his morning walk on that same Sunday he was accosted by a French gentleman, a New Orleans lawyer, whose seat was at the same table, asking him if he did not belong to the English Church. On receiving an affirmative answer the gentleman

went on to ask: How is Dr. Pusey's doctrine coming on? I told him I knew no other doctrine of Dr. Pusey than the doctrine of the Church,

which Dr. Pusey having taught with rather more distinctness and earnestness than had been common of late years, had attracted to himself thereby odium, and to those who did the same the opprobrium of a party nickname. He said he believed it was so. He pretended to some skill in physiognomy, and thereby knew me to be what is now called a Puseyite. He had been brought up, he said, a Roman Catholic, and added that there is not much difference between his faith and that of Dr. Pusey. I answered: There is the difference of the Council of Trent and all it taught. He said he thought if Luther had let doctrine alone the Church might have been reformed without the consequences that followed. I told him that the innovations were really on the side of the Council of Trent and its adherents. He said he held nothing but the Apostles' Creed and that of the Council of Nice; that all that had been added since the Council of Nice was of mere human authority, and that no man had a right to impose it as necessary to salvation. I told him he was a Catholic, then, but no Romanist. He answered: That may be; and went on to deplore the course of Calvin, whose teaching had ruined Protestantism and would ruin this country. I said I thought it was more dangerous in its reflex consequences than directly by bringing in Latitudinarianism, Rationalism, and, finally, Deism and Infidelity.

In general, Americans in search of health or pleasure who land at Liverpool hasten elsewhere as soon as possible. To be anywhere in England was much to Bishop Whittingham, and whether constrained or not he was content to remain several days in what is perhaps the least English of English towns. Besides what marks the great seaport he had, among other churches to interest him, a restored chapel of a priory or abbey, where, however, he was disagreeably impressed by what seemed to typify a school not that of one who could speak of Dr. Pusey as teaching with distinctness the doctrines of the Church; he found "the chancel choked up with high and comfortable pews, in the midst of which, between the sacrarium and the nave, stands the triple pile of desks and pulpit with back to the altar."

From Liverpool he went to Chester. The first English cathedral service he had ever taken part in, although simply even song, overpowered him; he was dissolved in tears as he

listened to the Magnificat and the Nunc Dimittis. At a later date he writes of a like week-day service in Lichfield Cathedral:

> It was well performed but not so well as at Chester; the accessories, however, increased the interest not a little. I felt wrapped in a devotion of a kind which, meseems, could not be felt in a different place.

The following day was Sunday. In the afternoon, after service, he sent by a verger his card to the Bishop of Chester (Bishop Graham, probably), and was most cordially received. During a stay of three days every mark of respect and friendly attention was shown him by the bishop and his clergy, and especially by Canon Slade. While examining, under this gentleman's guidance, many curious monuments in the parish church of S. Oswald, in the north transept, Bishop Whittingham asked to be shown the memorial of Bishop Pearson, and learned to his surprise that there was none. He at once offered that the American clergy would, if permitted, place in the cathedral a memorial window as a mark of their gratitude for the benefits derived from the "Exposition of the Creed." The canon was gratified by the proposal, and gave assurance of co-operation on the part of the dean and chapter.

Within a few days the bishop had taken action which he thought would promptly secure what he had offered. A short while before leaving home he had received from the alumni of the Seminary, through Professor Johnson, an earnest request that he would enable them to place his portrait in the Seminary library, asking him to give sittings to Mr. Huntington, or to any other artist whom he might prefer. The bishop had reluctantly given a qualified consent, for he had always had a repugnance, which he retained through life, to having his likeness taken. Once only, in the year 1845, did he sit to a photographer, and then not at the request, but in obedience to the command

of his mother. The Pearson memorial gave him, he thought, an escape from what was disagreeable. He wrote from Bangor to Dr. Johnson declining the kindly request of the alumni, and suggesting that what had been already given for his portrait should be devoted to a more worthy end, and be made the beginning of a subscription in small sums to be obtained from clergymen of all schools who had been alike taught by Pearson. The committee did not feel at liberty to act on this suggestion. The opportunity for doing a graceful thing was lost, and he who had been too ready to promise in the name of his brethren was deeply mortified. In 1859 Canon Slade, then vice-dean, kindly wrote to the bishop who had suggested the duty of placing in his own cathedral "a material record of so great a man" as Pearson, and informed him that "the business has at length been earnestly taken up and a subscription is commenced." The Maryland Convention met a few days after the receipt of this letter. The occasion was taken by the bishop to tell his assembled clergy the story of his visit to Chester Cathedral, of what had not been done and of what was now purposed, and to ask of each one indebted to Pearson a limited donation toward erecting his monument. The request was gladly complied with by every clergyman. The bishop also wrote to other bishops, suggesting that they should have like collections made in their dioceses. And so Americans aided in what, had they done alone, would have been a cause for congratulation. The unmarked grave of Bishop Pearson was opened, and his coffin was found beneath that of another Bishop of Chester. The remains were removed, it is believed, to another part of the cathedral, and over them now stands a tomb rich in marbles and sculpture, covered by an open canopy of brass which is supported by pillars of brass adorned with angels of the same metal. In 1856, through Bishop Whipple, the Bishop of Chester sent to our bishop an expression of his regard and of his sense of obligation. All Americans visiting Chester are now told

by the vergers of how the memorial of the author of the "Exposition of the Creed" came to be built, and sometimes other things supposed to be pleasing to them.*

While he was in Chester there occurred an incident that illustrates a characteristic of Bishop Whittingham—his boldness in the Lord. It is true that the particulars are not wholly borne out by the mention made by the bishop in his notes of travel, but this is not sure proof that what was learned from an eye-witness, his son, is not strictly true.

Here, in the commercial room at a hotel, his table happened to be near that of three gentlemen dining together. One of these was an English clergyman, the others were Belgians; the language spoken by them was French. While still at their table these gentlemen discussed the evidences of a revealed religion—of the existence of a personal God. One of the foreigners was a deist, the other an utter sceptic. In answering their objections to his faith the clergyman became embarrassed, his French began to fail him in his excitement, and he was about to be silenced. Our bishop had heard all that had been said. To suffer the triumph of the unbeliever without an effort on his part was to him an impossibility. He rose from his seat, and overlooking the restraints of society, stood before the strangers. After a brief apology for his intrusion and apparent rudeness, he began in French a discourse on the matter they had treated, went over the whole ground of the dispute, took up point after point of the arguments, strengthened what his brother had offered, and answered more fully what had been urged against the truth. Not a word was said to interrupt him until his son exclaimed, "Indeed, father, I cannot allow you to speak any longer," and led him away by the arm.

The next morning cards were exchanged. The clergyman in whose aid the bishop had volunteered proved to be a rural dean of the Diocese of St. Asaph. To St. Asaph the bishop, with his son, went on leaving Chester. It happened that on the day of his arrival there was a business meeting of

* Among the items noted while in Chester is a fact which must be curious to the American reader: "The parish of St. Michael is exactly 450 yards long by 250 broad."

the officials of the diocese. In the cathedral he was recognized by his new friend, the rural dean, and he saw that he was pointed out to the bishop of the diocese. On the first opportunity his lordship hastened to extend a welcome. When something was said about a letter of introduction, he answered, "A bishop needs no letter to his brother," and in the warmest manner took possession of the brother from beyond the seas. At this period there was an extra effusion of feeling on the part of English churchmen toward American churchmen; but if this had not been, the report of the rural dean would have secured every expression of kindness for his helper in the cause of truth.

Very pleasant must have been the consequent dining with the clergy, and the speech-making, and all the tokens of brotherly kindness, but not very conducive to recovery from bronchial irritation. "Throat much better" is an entry after one day's silence enforced by seclusion because of bodily ailments. One perfect cure of a like affection was the result of one year's total silence self-imposed by a lady of Baltimore. At the end of twelve months, during which she would not even allow herself to whisper, she found she had regained her natural voice, and she never again lost it. Our bishop could not try this remedy even for a week. If anything could have been worse than response to the ceaseless attention shown him in Wales, it must have been the study of the Welsh language, to which he devoted every spare moment.

While in Caernarvon, where he was detained, in part by a serious though brief illness of his son, in part by his own bodily afflictions, which made the motion of travel unendurable, the bishop had an opportunity to note the excitability of Cymry churchmen. He writes:

> Found a meeting of communicants attending a Welsh lecture not yet dismissed. Heard the peroration of the lecture, delivered with much apparent earnestness by one of the curates. There was much excitement, yet devoutly subdued, among the congregation, who

numbered about one hundred and thirty and seemed to be mostly very poor. Half-suppressed groans, whispered expressions of assent, and stifled sobs proceeded from many lips, both male and female. The lecture ended, the clergyman "lined out" a Welsh hymn, which was sung well by the whole congregation. Then he prayed with as much fervor as he had preached for about ten minutes, and they were dismissed. Spoke to him afterward, expressing my pleasure at seeing the Church taking hold of that class and accommodating herself to all portions of her work.

This approval of a service not found in the Prayer-Book, of extempore prayer in public worship, is noteworthy.

From Wales the bishop went up to London, but leisurely and by a rambling way, stopping at Shrewsbury and Lichfield, and at Leeds, where he remained several days, the guest of the vicar, Dr. Hook; and then at York, Lincoln, and Boston. Before reaching Boston he parted from his son for a while, and went alone in search of a Rev. Mr. Massingberd, with whom he had spent several pleasant days in Geneva, and who had exacted of him a promise of a visit should he ever be in Lincolnshire. Having gone a little farther by rail the bishop engaged the only conveyance he could get, a dog-cart, to take him to Spilsby, whence he expected to reach his friend at Gunby Park; but on the way, entering into conversation with the driver, he learned that he was going away from the park, and that neither there nor at the village Candlesby was there a Rev. Mr. Massingberd, but that "Mr. Frank Massingberd, the young man," was now at South Ormsby. Somewhat in doubt that he might be going astray, he determined to go on. After a delightful drive of a dozen miles,

as we turned into the lane, says his note-book, I saw a man in black before us, and I asked if that were not Mr. Massingberd. "The very man—Mr. Frank himself." I thought he resembled my Mr. Massingberd in figure, and began to hope. We overtook him just as he turned into his gate. I alighted; he paused; I presented my card, and asked if he remembered having seen me before? "He did not

recollect having had that pleasure." "Had he been in Geneva in April, 1835?" "Yes." "Did he remember a young American who spent an evening and part of the next day with him then and there?" "He could not say he did." "But that clergyman did, and having then promised if ever he should be in England to try to find out Mr. Massingberd, had now fulfilled his promise, and come from Boston specially to do so."

He gave a most cordial welcome. It was too good of me—most kind—I did him great honor and a very great pleasure. He was so happy, particularly because he that very day expected Archdeacon Churton, who, he was sure, would share his pleasure. I had a gleam of conjecture. "Was the archdeacon to bring his sons with him?" "He was." "Then I was sure I had been his companion part of his journey;" and I told of the gentleman and the two boys. "He had another friend also coming, who, he was sure, would have great pleasure in meeting me. Had I heard of Mrs. Sherwood?" "Surely!" and stated what I knew. "Well, her sister was to be with us, and a sister not inferior to her." "What! Mrs. Cameron?" "Exactly."

Strangely was I affected at learning this, for certainly I do not know of a lady in England whom I have more often desired to see. I told Mr. Massingberd the history of my connection with her writings as secretary of the Sunday-School Union. After a little while Archdeacon Churton arrived. By and by the Rev. Mr. Cameron, Sr., and Mrs. Cameron, their son, Rev. Charles Cameron, and his wife came. Soon we were engaged in interesting conversation. Dinner at four—plain, neat, frugal, well seasoned with pleasant converse. At seven I had, most reluctantly, to tear myself away.

This kind reception removed the mortification the bishop must have felt on seeing the proof that he had been utterly forgotten by the person whom he had taken such pains to visit. Some days later a new surprise came to him; instead of having been forgotten he had claimed as an acquaintance a man whom he had never before seen. His new friend wrote to him:

ORMSBY, NR. ALFORD, August 27, 1852.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP:

Although your habits may lead you to reject and your modesty to decline this title, Churton and I agree that we can find no other translation for the *Domine Episcope* of the primitive ages, and no

other word by which to express the deep reverence of Catholic-hearted men for your high and holy office.

I cannot abstain from thanking you for the pleasure of your visit, and assuring you of the deep gratification it has given me.

Truth also obliges me to add an explanation which only gives me greater cause of rejoicing in it, since I fear I was not entitled to it. I was staying at the Hotel des Bergues some years ago with my wife and child, so that when you mentioned Geneva I had no doubt of my own identity. But your letter from York, which came the day after, convinced me that your former friend was my late relative and dear friend, Algernon Massingberd, of Gunby, who, alas, has been dead about five years. Having been only in deacon's orders, he was usually considered rather as a layman than a clergyman after he succeeded to that place, and this led to some little confusion.

Answering a letter nine years later, Mr. Massingberd wrote:

My Dear Lord Bishop:

. . . I can assure you that your kind visit to this place has not been forgotten by any of those who had the happiness and great good fortune to enjoy it.

Archdeacon Churton, who was here again soon after I received your Reverence's letter, said that "the whole of that happy day was worthy of a Boswell." . . . So that you may rest assured it was a great gratification to hear from you and to learn that my humble effort toward unity has met with your approval.

From London the bishop went a second time to Leeds, to attend a commemoration of the consecration of the vicar's church.

Bishop De Lancey was there. The Bishop of Ripon and about a hundred and fifty of the clergy of his and the adjoining dioceses met us, and we had almost a second edition of the Jubilee welcome. Certainly never were men more loaded with demonstrations of kindness, both private and public, than we two "American bishops." Our English brethren seemed to think it impossible to express sufficiently how glad they were to see us.

On this occasion there was also a meeting of the "Propagation Society" held in Leeds, presided over by the Bishop

of Ripon, at which both of the American bishops were constrained to speak, Bishop Whittingham because of the absence of another who had undertaken to offer one of the resolutions. From the Bishop of Ripon our bishop received every possible attention, going with him to his palace and on pleasure excursions.

It had been the bishop's intention to seek quiet, and to steal about without observation, but he gave up the effort to do so. To a friend he wrote, September 4th:

> I have made a pretty good round in England and seen both a good many places and a good many people. Of the two advantages, pleasant as the former is, I certainly prize the latter still more highly. I have made acquaintances and enjoyed intercourse for which I shall account myself the richer as long as I live.

From the North he returned to London, and here attended the then famous S. Barnabas', Pimlico, of which he says: "Services conducted with much ceremonial, but none, that I could see, at variance with Church principles."

With the Bishop of Cape Town he visited Eaton. The same day he went to Oxford, where he did not have what he sought, the opportunity to see Dr. Pusey. He did see, however, the venerable Dr. Routh, and heard from him his story of his advising Dr. Seabury to go to Scotland for consecration. Sunday was spent with the Bishop of Oxford at Cuddesden, and an ordination being held that day, the Rev. Mr. Howland, of New York, acting as his chaplain, assisted in the imposition of hands, probably a solitary instance of such an act. Returning to Oxford with Mr. Marriott, he had the pleasure to be with Mr. Sewell and with Miss Sewell, of whom many years later he said, referring to her "Thoughts for the Age:" "You often hear the contrast made between a man's and a woman's intellect. Here is a book by a woman which few men living could have written."

The time for his return, fixed by the needs of his friend

the Bishop of New Jersey, was now drawing near. In his last letter he wrote to his daughter Margaret:

> The more I see of Old England—city, town, village, field, orchard, woods, rivers, and hills—the less I wonder at its people for turning up their noses at everything they see abroad. All I blame them for is that they go abroad at all! . . . You will perceive that I am not studying the country on one side only, but am fully aware in how different an aspect it may present itself from a different point of view. Its incomparable charms are for those who have wherewith to pay their way.

It had been a matter of regret that he could not go to Mr. Keble. The gratification he thought he could never have blessed him the last day he was in England. His last hurried entry in his note-book is in these words:

> Before I am out of my room get a card from Rev. Mr. Wray informing me that Keble is waiting to breakfast with me at his house. Take cab; find it with some difficulty. Mr. and Mrs. K. K.'s talk about Wilson; abt. Romanizers. To par. ch. Join them in communion. I read Epistle. K. receives at my hands! Archdeacon Brooks and about thirty of the clergy—some very Low—present. To ship. Embark.

On October 2d Bishop Whittingham reached New York. On the 7th, without having gone on to Baltimore, he was at Camden, New Jersey; and here and in Burlington, although scarcely able to sit or to stand, he took a prominent part in the contest among the bishops, who had assembled as a court to try their brother of New Jersey, which resulted in a refusal to try, a decision which was entered as unanimous, because the one bishop who dissented refused to have his vote thus recorded.

LETTERS.

TO HIS ELDER SON, ON THE DAY OF HIS GRADUATION AS DOCTOR IN MEDICINE.

St. Augustine, March 9, 1852.

Dear Edward:

From my first waking thoughts at dawn this morning until now that I write by candle-light I have not once forgotten that this is your commencement day, the day on which, in one sense, you begin life anew, commencing that professional career which, if prosecuted in the fear of God and love of man, with the zeal and energy that its noble subject and ends demand, is one of the most honorable to which man's faculties and time can be devoted. You know my heart's desire and prayer for you is the best, surest, and richest success—that which humble faith and prayer obtain as God's promised blessing on industrious effort laid out in his fear. I have no anxieties about your ability to succeed; and I do humbly trust in him that he will so watch over you and guide you that by his teaching and guidance you shall always turn that ability to the best account. Harry and I were walking on the sea-wall talking of you, at eleven o'clock, when we supposed your bustle was just beginning. Now it is all over. You have attained one goal but to find it a starting-point for another. [At a later date, after having received from his son assurance, under his own hand, of the attainment of the object of his labors and aspirations for the last three years, the father continued the theme of this letter.] . . . I have at no time had any fears or doubts about your examinations proving satisfactory, but I hope you will not let the satisfaction of others satisfy you. Real excellence is never so attained in anything, nor real happiness even so acquired. Aim to satisfy yourself, and set the satisfaction of others in a comparatively low place among many other things which shall be necessary to accomplish this end. Above all, to satisfy, by serving in humble thankfulness and faithfulness, Him who gave you the talents and the opportunities, and who will take account of both, and according as they are improved, for one give two or ten, in free reward, where there is a heart capable of appreciating and using them. I do not say these things, my

dear boy, because I think them called for by any remissness on your part, but because I feel them so earnestly that I cannot leave them unsaid at a juncture so important as that through which you have just been passing. I am not unmindful, too—I cannot be—that that juncture occurs with you together with another equally or even more important. Together with the transition from student to doctor, you are just making that from infancy to majority, from the boy to the man. You are to pass, within a few days, the limit up to which human law holds you but partially responsible and capable of self-control. That it will make no difference between us whether you are a major or not, I am well assured, and you need no assurance from me. But in the eye of human law and society you will be thenceforth your own master, and answerable in all respects for your own proceedings. You will enter on your majority with the same patrimony that I received at mine—a careful education, a handful of books, and nothing more. But you see how God has taken care of me. Be assured he will equally take care of you if you commit your ways to him and make it your first, only, all-absorbing study to walk always as in his sight, and in childlike confidence in his direction and protection. Again and again since your mother and I set out in the world together have our affairs seemed to come to a perfect stop, our plans and means alike failing entirely. Thank God, I never failed to trust him fearlessly, and never has he failed me. Opening after opening, help after help, blessing after blessing he bestowed on me just when they could not be done without, and more than once when it seemed as if it were improbable they could come. I give you that dependence as your inheritance from me, my son, and never was a richer. Only have the heart to deem it so. Only so live as to show that you claim and make it your study to deserve it. Use the present, always use it with all your powers and energies, and be assured that the future will take care of itself—or rather will be taken care of for you. . . . Your loving father, W. R. W.

TO A CLERGYMAN IN DANGER OF DRUNKENNESS.

1852.

Rev. and Dear Brother:

I have had my heart wrung with anguish by a letter which has been put into my possession. It leaves me no room for doubt that you have been betrayed, again and again, into forgetfulness of your sacred office and calling, your awful accountability as a steward of the mysteries of God, and bearer of that fire from heaven which,

where it does not purify and sanctify, *consumes* and *blasts*, into forgetfulness of your own soul's salvation.

My dear brother! if I were where it would be possible for me to grovel at your feet as a suppliant, I would gladly do it, in the hope of gaining your assent to my entreaty when I implored you, *as I now do*, for the sake of your Father in heaven; for the sake of our loving and merciful Redeemer; for the sake of the Blessed Spirit of grace whose temple you are; for the sake of the Church of God, which is injured in your ruin and wounded in your disgrace; for the sake of the wife of your bosom and your babes the fruit of your body; for the sake of your own eternal life, to renounce now, utterly, forever, in all forms and shapes, everything that can intoxicate or excite.

Oh, my dear brother, you are on the brink of endless ruin! You can return; it is not too late. God, in great mercy, has given you a most desirable opportunity of escape; you are, as it were, beginning again your ministry; you are going to new scenes, new associates, new labors. Oh, go in newness of life and strength from on high, in penitence and prayer seeking Him who never forsakes His children when they turn to Him for help against the soul's destroyers! Think how many souls are involved in your present choice! Your own, your family's, perhaps multitudes of others to whom your fall *must* be a dreadful stumbling-block, for whom your recovery *might* be life from the dead.

Pardon me for being so plain. My heart goes with my pen. I cannot find language to express the earnestness with which I feel. It is in the deepest, warmest love that I write. My heart yearns to fold you to my bosom as one of God's own brands plucked from the burning, to be a torch of heaven-sent light to guide others in the path of repentance and renewed holiness of life. Will you deny me, my brother? Oh, you cannot! You will—you will turn to God, and in his strength renounce, utterly and forever, the poison of your happiness, your peace, your usefulness, your eternal life.

Never shall word or look of mine betray the consciousness of the risk you have run if you do thus put on Christ's armor and make a stand. You shall go to your new place of work untouched, so far as I can effect it, by the tongue of calumny—shall have every opportunity to build up for yourself again a fair character and influence, and between God and your own soul shall lie all the past. By me it shall be perfectly forgotten, if only you give me the opportunity to know you only as a zealous, faithful, discreet, and self-restraining man of God, pure, temperate, sober, an example to the flock in deed, as well as a successful teacher in word.

Dearest brother, will you forgive me this? and show that you forgive by joining me, as soon as you have read these my words, in pouring out your heart before God in acknowledgment of the past, and committal of yourself to him for the time to come. As your brother, and willing to be the humblest of your servants in Christ, I implore you by the authority I have for him, I charge you in his name—touch no more the deadly means of your soul's ruin. Take nothing that can intoxicate or exhilarate. Make the sacrifice as a precaution, as a favor to me, and as a bounden duty now imposed on you by Your loving brother in Christ, W. R. W.

ON LAY BAPTISM.

TO THE HON. D. H.

BALTIMORE, December 29, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR:

You present to me questions both difficult and delicate—not so much in themselves as in consequence of the state in which they have been left by the Church, neither the Church Catholic nor our branch of the Church having ever given any formal decision of them, while a great array of authorities may be adduced on either side.

In this condition of the questions, I conceive that no minister of the Church, whatever his rank may be, has a right to speak with authority—to decide as a minister of the Church. As such he has no voice beyond the utterance of the Church. As bishop I have no right to pronounce upon your baptism; the Church has never done so; and men of much more weight and better judgment than I may be adduced in numbers either for or against it.

Nevertheless, as a private student I have a very clear and strong opinion. The question is one that has occupied my attention often and very seriously, and has been examined by me in every shape and bearing (as I believe) in which it can be presented, and always with the same result.

I consider the value of a sacrament as dependent entirely on its divine institution and authorization. If it is the work of Christ it must be done by him, *i.e.*, in the way of his appointment and by his appointment. If it is a seal of God, it must be owned by him as such and affixed by his authority.

I find the institution of baptism and commission to administer in one and the same precept of our Lord. The question is, To whom does that commission pertain? to the apostles solely, and a ministry deriving from them exclusively? or to the whole body of the Church, equally to every believer?

This is the question between Episcopalians and Congregationalists. Were we to come to the naked text of the Bible, as if now first promulgated and given us alone for our guidance, even then, I think, the decision must be against the Congregationalist view, on the ground that a ministry, distinct from the laity by office and commission, is clearly there described, and that it is described as clearly as apostolic, viz., existing and having its official trust and commission in and through the apostles only. But we are not left to dependence on our unaided construction of the naked text of the New Testament. That rule of faith and practice has come down to us in the hand of a ministry, and that ministry from the beginning, everywhere claiming and admitted to be sent by distinct commission, derived through the apostles by episcopal ordination and succession. Furthermore, that ministry, in all ages and everywhere—that is to say, the universal Church—has held that the institution of baptism and precept to administer that sacrament were given to the apostles only as ministers, and thus to the ministry alone.

By what right, then—by what possibility can the administration of water, with whatsoever formulas, in whatsoever name, by any one else than by one deriving the authority to do it from Christ through the apostles claim to be his baptism—his seal set in his name?

If it could be shown that such administration by any Christian had always been regarded by the Church as valid baptism, the case would be altered; because then we should have reason—even no less reason than the testimony of the Church—for regarding the origination and authorization of the sacrament as probably other than the commission and precept to the twelve—an institution prescribed to the Church in unrecorded terms at some unknown time, but known as such by the practice of the founders of the Church, continued after that example by the Church in succeeding ages.

But it is not so. It is not pretended to be known that the Church always held baptism by other than an apostolically commissioned ministry valid. On the contrary, the very first time that we find evidence of distinct consideration of the question, Is baptism valid administered by any or every baptized person? are traces of the limited view denying such validity; and from that time onward there never has been a time when that view has not been held by authorities of the highest consideration.

The practice of the Church, then—admitting the most that has ever been claimed for lay baptism—has not been such as to destroy the force of the unvarying testimony of the Church to the meaning of the institution of the sacrament and accompanying commission. The

institution and commission have ever been held to have been given to an apostolic ministry. The unestablished claim for a different practice cannot prevail against the established and undeniable interpretation of the scriptural authority. It is on that authority so interpreted that we receive the sacrament. How can we receive, as a sacrament, that which it does not sanction, and which fails of the only other available proof?

I fully believe that the administration of water in the name of the blessed Trinity by a person believing himself to be thereby duly administering baptism in the name of Christ, and received by those who are in the same belief, may, by the mercy of God, and in thousands of thousands of instances has been and is made available for all the ends of the sacrament. But this is just as I believe that in hundreds of cases those who by no fault of their own have died without one or both of the sacraments, truly desiring their benefits, have, by the mercy of God, been counted as receiving that of which they were in desire and will partakers, and so been made partakers of the spiritual benefits of which the outward and visible signs were ordained to be means and pledges. And it no more follows that in the one case the unauthorized administration, because it is really effectual, is therefore valid, than it follows from the validity of the spiritual benefit in the other case that there is an actual participation of the sacramental seal.

It follows that, in my view, wherever there has been an unauthorized administration claiming to be a sacrament, the receiver, however really benefited by such administration, is bound, so soon as he comes to the knowledge of its want of authorization, to obtain it in its duly authorized administration; as much as a man who, dying without a sacrament, in full earnest desire of its benefits, and therefore (by the doctrine of the Church in all ages throughout the world) partaker of those benefits, would have been bound, if raised up from the bed of death, to receive the sacrament of which he had desired and in faith received the benefits when seemingly dying, upon the first offering opportunity.

This, you perceive, amounts to an answer to your first question: "Shall I present myself for baptism?" with the grounds of it, so far as I can condense them into this hasty paper—given, you are to remember, as my private opinion, for which I have no right to claim authority or obedience as if they were the voice of the Church. In this case she has not spoken. I give my own conclusions.

Let me only observe, in addition, that much of what has been said in support of the validity of lay baptism in the Church does

not apply to the case of administrations claiming validity as ministerial when they are not by authority of an apostolical commission and are administered elsewhere than within and otherwise than by authority of an apostolically constituted Church. It would by no means follow that because an administration sanctioned in a duly constituted branch of the Church, made without claim of ministerial commission, might be admitted as valid, therefore a similar administration, claiming to be what it is not, a ministerial administration, and made where because there is no due organization of the Church there can be no proper sanction or authorization of the act by a body deriving its right to give such sanction or authorization from Christ through the apostles, must be admitted as equally valid. A Congregationalist in our day is in a very different position from a layman of the fourth century—or even from an episcopally baptized lay member of a Catholic Church allowing lay baptism in the present day. . . . W. R. W.

ON SAME SUBJECT.

THE REV. F. F. PEAKE.

MARCH 30, 1837.

You are very right in considering the matter of lay baptism no speculative question. I own, however, that I hesitate about the propriety of making it a point to be brought forward. My view of the limits of the right of private judgment forbids me to do so. I do not feel myself at liberty to take positive ground, as a minister of the Church, where the Church has never taken it. Now it is a fact that the Church has not only not taken such ground concerning lay baptism, but has always avoided so doing; and when I say this has been the course of the Church, I mean the Church to which we belong—the Church of England and the Church Catholic. The Church of Rome on the one side, and the Presbyterian denomination on the other, have taken positive grounds; but the Church of Christ has not, from the first century until now. It is clearly, therefore, a matter of private opinion. . . . So believing, my course in the pastoral office has been not to run where the Church has not sent me, but to stand fast and firm on my own ground: not to urge on my parishioners the consideration of the question, but to wait till its kindred truths had awakened inquiry in their own minds, and then to meet such inquiry frankly. I have never known an instance in which one brought to a proper sense of the constitution of the Church did not spontaneously meet this point. I have known some instances when the persons to whose minds it occurred were

utterly unaware that any one else had ever met with the same difficulty. Indeed, the analogy is too grave and close to escape any thoughtful mind—if a commission is necessary for the administration of one sacrament, how can the other be of force without it? Both are means of grace, both seals of covenant—like authority must be requisite for both.

The difficulty which seems to weigh most with you—that involved in the objection against an unbaptized ministry—has never seemed to me of any weight. Again and again I have recurred to it, urged by reluctance to believe that as clear and cool a head as that of our late father, Bishop White, could be deceived by a fallacy so gross as it appeared to me, and anxious to discover where its strength lay; but strength I could find none.

A ministerial commission has nothing to do with the baptismal relation. It is a trust distinct in nature and in end. We know that it may be received, held, and discharged to the accomplishment of its ends in others, by those who themselves shall finally prove to have been no partakers of its benefits. If a minister must be baptized because he is sent to baptize others, then must he also needs be converted because he is sent to convert others, and there can be no security of the succession, because there is no surety that it has not been broken by some uncoverted man.

Who baptized the apostles? Some, possibly, received John's baptism, but that we know (Acts i. 9) was not sufficient baptism. There is neither proof nor probability that the Lord himself baptized them. Yet they received, and from them we receive, the ministerial commission. Who made Paul an apostle? Not man, but the Lord. When? When he met him on the way, and sent him forth on his commission. Was it not after that that Paul received baptism at the hands of Annanias? Were I a bishop laically baptized, now first aware of the nature of my standing with the Church, I should consider that [illegible] a full and sufficient warrant to go seek baptism at the hands of some presbyter to whom I had myself imparted his commission.

W. R. W.

SAME SUBJECT—WANT OF BAPTISM DOES NOT AFFECT AN ORDAINED MINISTER'S ACTS.

TO A. W. S.

BALTIMORE, March 28, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR:

I regard your arguments against the validity of lay baptism as sound. I consider the objection of its advocates against the restriction

of the baptismal commission, as stated in the first page of your note, to be wholly set aside by the case of (1) the eleven apostles, of whose baptism we have no record; (2) St. Paul, of whom we have his own express declaration that he was made, and our Lord's own words making him, an apostle before he was baptized. Apostleship, therefore, and *a fortiori* any lower grade of ministry, may be held, without the personal qualification, by valid and sufficient baptism. All analogy, both of things mundane and of things spiritual, supports the principle of this, viz., that a minister, qua minister, may be the channel of conveyal to others of that which he does not himself enjoy —an officer competent to admit to membership of a body of which he administers office without being a member, *e.g.*, the Vice-President of the United States in the United States Senate, the Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland in the Senate of the State.

I can see no sufficient ground for distinguishing, in the commission of the ministry, between the two great sacraments. If one is not restricted to the ministry, I see no sufficient ground for the restriction of the other; on the other hand, if one is restricted I do not see any adequate ground of affirming of the other that it is not. I can find no possible ground between the Congregationalist theory, that Christian priesthood is universal and its exercise a mere matter of order, to be regulated on grounds of expediency by the voice of the majority, and the apostolic theory that there is one only priesthood—that of Christ—of which men may become ministers on his account and as his agents and instruments, by direct and explicit mission deducible from him, as he deduced his mission from the Father. On the first theory he left the covenant in him a legacy committed to the keeping of the whole body of believers, self-extensible and of self-perpetuation. On the other, he is himself ever making it, through the agency of his own provision, being himself the one only Fountain of life and growth for his body the Church. The inevitable result of the first theory, consistently pressed, is to reduce the Church of Christ to a mere human association. The purport of the other is that it is a supernatural organization as really and effectually now as in the first days of its organization under visible exertion of Divine power by miracle.

The Church has never pronounced against lay baptism. That is the real great difficulty of the question. The East rejects it. For almost fifteen hundred years the West has favored it. Our own branch of the Church follows the example of the Church Catholic, and will not decide what that has never settled. As her officer I have no voice; as a member I have given you my private judgment.

Yours, W. R. W.

TO THE RT. REV. J. WILLIAMS, D.D., ON THE RECEPTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN, AND ON MORAVIAN ORDERS.

BALTIMORE, March 7, 1861.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I will have my form of "Declaration" and "Office" for the renouncement of a priest from the Roman communion copied for you, and send it as soon as ready. I drew it up in the conviction that the reception of a presbyter, under such circumstances, ought not to be less formal, public, and solemn than the ordination of a regularly admitted candidate. The "declaration" is made to cover the ground of the sponsions in our own ordinal, together with the necessary renunciations of the heretical additaments and schismatical usurpations of Rome. My own experience with regard to Romish clergymen (of whom I have received three) is that they need from two to five years' preparation before admission to the exercise of the ministry. Then, when well prepared, I have found the two who have remained to minister in the diocese more than ordinarily useful men —of a type, indeed, quite superior to the average presbyterate.

Your Moravian question embarrasses me on the other side from that on which you seem to expect my hesitation. I could have no difficulty about making your proposed reservation and explanation, if I could ordain at all. But, while I admit that there are very formidable grounds of objection to the Moravian succession, my own conviction of its genuineness is so complete that I should have much reluctance about doing anything which might be construed to put a blot upon it. Nor do I quite like ordination *sub conditione*, although well aware that it has been practised both in the East and West. At any rate we have no provision for it; and although ready, when necessity calls, to do anything clearly sanctioned by Catholic usage on that ground alone, I am still very much afraid of needless innovations.

Would it require additions to the ordinal itself? That would increase my difficulty. But I suppose your proposal would take effect merely in a public declaration preliminary to the ordinal, and in the introduction of a clause or paragraph into the letters of orders. Then, to me, there would remain the objection to using the solemn words without really meaning them; only to be met by the dreaded and dangerous liberty of inserting the conditional clause, "If thou art not," etc. Faithfully yours, W. R. W.

CHAPTER XV.

IN FRANCE AND ITALY.—DEFECTIONS IN THE DIOCESE.

1853.

During the autumn of 1852 and the succeeding winter the bishop resumed his diocesan duties, but, with the exception of a few ordinations and confirmations, these were only such as could be performed at home.

The Board of Missions commissioned him to visit the Pacific coast and the adjacent territories with a view to the survey of the country as missionary ground. The charge was conditionally accepted, but the prudence of his physician intervened. Instead of permitting him to attempt this excessive labor, it was decided that he should return to Europe, and that he should go this time to the Continent, where there would be less temptation to the exercise of his voice.

Having provided for the needs of the diocese through the kindness of Bishops Whitehouse and Southgate, on March 2d, again accompanied by his nephew, Mr. Condit, he sailed from New York in a Havre packet. There was no other occupant of the cabin, which indeed furnished not much more room than the two needed, for English steamships had been introduced and American packets had now lost the estimation in which they were held twenty years earlier, when the bishop and forty others, having every appliance of luxury, crossed the ocean in one of them on his home passage. The voyage lasted a month.

After a few days spent among American friends in

Havre, the bishop began at Caen an extended tour which he had planned in detail. But scarcely had he entered on it when he felt forced to curtail it, for the first letters received informed him of a second trial of Bishop Doane on a new presentment founded on the same general charges. From this trial pleasure or prospect of health could not keep him. The time given him was spent in a ramble through Normandy to Paris, and thence by the way of many a cathedral town to Marseilles, and so on to Genoa, Turin, Milan, and other parts of Italy as far as Florence, when again he had to forego a sight of the Eternal City. From Florence he retraced his steps in part, and then passing through a corner of Switzerland, he found his way by the Rhine to Strasbourg, thence to Paris again and to London, where his return passage had been taken.

An attractive tour as here stated, and pleasant enough it was, but yet the stay abroad was only in part what it ought to have been, for he gave up the promise of much benefit, and knowingly, for, as he writes, he was daily improving in every way when a sense of duty ended the vacation which his diocese wished should be much longer extended.

Among the bishop's numerous note-books is found a full daily record of observations during this tour. This shows him to have been chiefly occupied with a study of ancient church architecture and of the modern phase of religion. Napoleon had been married about half a year, and probably the influence of Eugénie was already felt. In many places were seen signs of increasing attention to care for church buildings, and the clergy were in full hopes—although, as others thought, in more security than safety. When the bishop was in France on his first absence, an officer of the household of a French bishop,* in explanation of the fact

* Mr. Whittingham seems to have formed a somewhat intimate acquaintance with this man, who was a layman and a fiscal agent of his bishop. A curious judgment of his was in after years related by the bishop. He was speaking of the manners of the clergy. Confessing that their code of morals was not the

that so much money was sent by the Church to the United States, said: "We feel that there is danger of our being driven out from here, and we are making ready against the evil day by securing a home in your country." The danger had not passed. At Lyons he noted:

The consul talks very strongly about the state of things here, yet thinks the hope of the country is in Louis Napoleon, who alone can save it from great misery. Says the clergy here are deeply hated; that at crises such, for example, as December 2d last, they dare not show themselves at all lest their mere appearance might excite an outbreak, which would be their immediate destruction. "Their heads would fall like shot," was his expression. He says that there are twenty thousand of the various orders, and five thousand nuns in this city alone. Can that be? There are forty thousand soldiers. Of that we see evidence enough. But the number of the priests must be exaggerated.

At another time he heard from a Frenchman the threat, "The next time we will not leave the priests to undo all that we have gained."

As the bishop habitually sought the quiet of the churches for his private devotions, so he attended—too much as a mere observer—such public services as he could. Everywhere in France and in Italy he bemoans, what Dr. Pusey has so touchingly shown, the evidence that among modern Roman Catholics the cultus of the Virgin Mother takes the place too much of the worship due her Divine Son. In every large church altars to the Mother of God under various titles predominate, and wherever a group of worshippers is seen it is before some such altar. The votive tablets which abound in certain churches rarely attribute the blessings obtained to her intercession, but speak of them as though sought from her directly as the giver of all good gifts. The

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strictest, he said: "They are a class sacrificed for the good of others; we cannot be saved without their agency. Their position is such that I do not see how many of them can save their own souls, and seeing that they will be damned hereafter I think we ought not to exact of them the sacrifice of earthly pleasure."

devotion, too, to special images was shocking to him, and in his observations on what, to his perception, is gross superstition, the plain word idolatry is not withheld.

Confirmations strong as proofs of Holy Writ to the Roman Catholic in no degree secured from him respect for venerated relics of saints. He could see in the religionists he met with too little practical distinction between *dulia* and *latria* to be willing to give place to sentimental regard for the possible remains of possibly holy men. In Lyons he writes:

> We went round the church and saw, among other things of the same kind, in a chapel in the north aisle a shrine enclosing what purported to be, and by the people was devoutly adored as, the body of S. Exuperus, whom a bull of Gregory XVI., hung up in the chapel, certified to have been lately found in those fertile fields the catacombs at Rome, but was really a waxen image in the most thorough modern French style of dandyism, be-whiskered and be-moustached to perfection. Sous were rattling into the coffer below it all the while we staid there.

When in Ravenna he was refreshed by the examination of the ancient churches of S. Apollinare and S. Vitale, whose mosaics and adornments show that Mariolatry and saint-worship were corruptions not known when they were built. Of S. Vitale he writes:

> The sacristan, getting the key of the mausoleum of the Empress Galla Placidia, took me thither. That was worth coming to Ravenna to see! It is more entire than I had supposed; indeed, quite entire; and for size, shape, effect, ornament, workmanship—everything, in short—is a most interesting relic of the age. It takes one back thither at once, and puts to shame the garish splendor of modern Christian taste. The mosaics of the cruciform vault are perfect and easily intelligible. How strongly do they contrast with the modern style of decoration in these countries! Christ and his people, his word, his acts, his promises, alone appear there. No Virgin, no saints except as subjects of Christ's recognition and reward. Four books and four streams—the Gospels—are exhibited; and one King, Law-giver, Judge, Shepherd, and Healer reigns, rules, and teaches alone! The sacred symbols Chi Rho and A and Ω are frequently introduced.

Although frequently distressed by the dishonor to the loving kindness of the Lord shown by the evidence of resting in one thought to be more tender in mercy than he, the bishop, listening to more than one sermon in French and in Italian, could not but gladly acknowledge that the truth was also taught. Returning from a service at an English church in Paris,

we stopped at the Church of the Assumption, now a *succursale* of the Madeleine for catechetical teaching, just in time to hear the greater part of a very good catechetical lecture on the eucharist, delivered with much earnestness, and very effective in matter, manner, and delivery. The lecturer made the eucharist the one thing: it was the fundamental fault of the sermon. He actually represented our Lord as incarnate that he might, in the eucharist, give himself to us; and while he dilated on the preparation for the eucharist before its first reception, made no direct mention of union with Christ in baptism. Union with Christ, according to him, is to be looked for, obtained, realized in the first communion, *i.e.*, in the eucharist only. The epochs, with regard to the eucharist, in the world were three: 1, of preparation before Christ's coming; 2, of realization in Christ's coming; 3, of perpetuity in the continual never-ceasing sacrifice of the eucharist since. So of the individual, three: 1, of preparation—Christian birth, training, teaching, devout anticipation; 2, of realization—the first communion, then Christ enters the soul and the soul obtains possession of Christ, he dwells on earth in the communicant and the recipient dwells in heaven with him; 3, of perpetuity, in the immovableness of Christ thus united with the believer. He described fluctuations of empires, the world, the end of the world, the judgment, and the effect of Christ's continued presence in them all.

Except the great fault of exaggerating one sacrament at the expense of the other, and reversing the relation of the commemorative and communicative means with the great fact commemorated and imparted, I heard nothing in the detail of the sermon that was not truly Catholic, and I was greatly pleased with its directness, fervor, and well-digested copiousness. I could not but be conscious that it was more truly Christian teaching than what had been given us just before in the English church, and that it was really a better preparation—even to me, as then hearing it—for the communion that had been announced for next Sunday than the kind of teaching we had had.

On another occasion he found a large congregation about concluding a litany to the Virgin, said responsively by a priest and the people.

Then a hymn was given out which was sung by the choir. During the singing another priest took his place in the pulpit and began at once, without text, a sermon or lecture on grace. He introduced it by referring to the day being the first of the month of Mary—of her who was full of grace, and therefore peculiarly appropriate for the consideration of the mystery of grace. He treated of the importance of the subject, and then of the indispensable need of grace, of its sufficiency, and of the responsibility of man owing to the necessity of correspondence on his part. With temptation and trial, he said, God simultaneously bestows the grace sufficient to encounter it; but man must meet the gift that it may be effectual. Everything comes from grace; the thought, the wish, the resolution, the effort, the act, the result, all are from grace; but man must correspond to it that the thought may become a wish, the wish a resolution, etc. Nothing is of man himself but sin and corruption. But grace will produce nothing in him except he correspond to it, by receiving and using it, by employing the means and the gift which they convey. Illustrated in the case of Abram and of Mary. The same the case of all saints. Whatever they did or suffered, grace called them to it; grace enabled them, but they availed themselves of the call and the ability, and so triumphed. Illustrated in the case of two persons in the same temptation or trial. One cherishes the motion of grace, one that of sin; one is saved by sanctification, the other lost. Illustrated in the different kinds of trial, natural temper, constitution, habit, circumstances, grace enables to meet each, yet in each case the individual must correspond with it.

The sermon lasted about twenty minutes. Was delivered with much earnestness, occasionally vehemence, of manner, and plainness and familiarity of language. . . . Seemed to be listened to on the whole with much attention. . . .

I thought the preacher rather too didactic and theological to suit or benefit his hearers—such as French, and especially Parisian, men may be supposed to be. There were but two sentences in the whole sermon that were Romish—the opening paragraph [about the month of Mary] and one toward the close in which he brought in the Ave Maria by way of illustration.

While he could be thus even edified by a Roman Catholic

discourse, and could at times yield himself to the solemnizing influences of a simpler choir service, the parade of a grand function invariably roused his resistance; if splendid it was not edifying or in the least devotional. When in Lyons he wrote:

It adds to the interest and advantage of my sojourn here that it has enabled me personally to observe, and under very favorable circumstances, some of the highest administrations of the Roman ritual. The archbishop here is a cardinal, and he has another archbishop, now in exile from his see, staying with him as his guest. Whitsunday—last Sunday—being one of the highest festivals, these dignitaries assisted in the solemnities in the cathedral, together with an apostolical nuncio, a titular archbishop also, who happened to be in Lyons at the time. The church is the primary of France and has a proportionate staff of clergy and appointments to correspond. Certainly out of Rome, and even there only on very high occasions, nothing could be more gorgeous or imposing—so far as members, splendid dress,and admirable precision in the execution of complicated manœuvres can make a transaction imposing—than the services of Sunday morning were. We were fortunate to secure, by a small fee, places where we could see everything perfectly, being roosted up in the upper galleries above the triforium—only a hundred feet above the floor! The number of clergy and robed boys engaged in the performances was, I suppose, about five hundred, there being three hundred boys in surplices; thirty of the superior clergy in copes so stiff with gold embroidery that when taken off, as they were more than once in the course of the services, they could stand alone. I never before saw so much of the splendor of the Romish services, and never was so heartily disgusted with their sickening formality, repetition, and heartless absence of devotion. The evolutions of the clergy in receiving the archbishop were numerous and complicated, and executed with wonderful precision, but most painfully bringing out reverence for the officer, amounting even to superstition—bowing, . . . kissing of hands at every approach and every change with much more formality and reverence than they observed to the altar and the sacrament.

. . . Popery, to be tolerable at all, must be seen among the poor, where it is itself weak and compelled to do without its pomp and much of the circumstance of its pretended worship. Then it is only meagre, sometimes slovenly, and often contemptible in its efforts to seem to be what it cannot be. But when such an array of

members, and of wealth spent in mere parade and show, prove what it has in its power to do, as here, in such a place as this populous and intensely agitable city, it becomes hateful for wasting such means on such miserable ends. The advancing and receding, moving to and fro, and round and round, and from side to side, the bowing and cringing, and kissing of hands and kneeling, the putting on and taking off, and preparing, for minutes together, to do nothing, and incessant involutions and evolutions, disgusted me completely. I understood it all; knew its origination and pretended meaning; was well aware of the growth of these complications out of originally well-meant and, perhaps, once not unneeded significant additions to the primitive simple forms of worship. But it seemed to me all the worse for so hatefully burying the truth under such masses of dead rubbish. . . . It does not tend to the edification in any way of anybody. To subjection of the mind to brute wonderment, to sensuous gratification, as by a military parade, it may; but not to any high, holy, or deeply religious feeling.

In Chartres he witnessed a like grand service, high mass celebrated by the dean, or curé, assisted by all the officers and clergy of the cathedral, the bishop being present. After describing the ceremonies in terms like to those used in his letter from Lyons, he wrote in his note-book:

The music, too, was really good, but the service . . . it was impossible to look upon it as reasonable worship, or the intercourse with God opened, provided for, and established by our blessed Lord in his holy Gospel. No! the Reformers had but too much reason for their indignant rejection of the whole in mass, and too good excuse for not stopping to inquire what part, if any, of such an absurd and cumbrous system might have had an apostolic origin and real importance.

And yet—when not stirred up to such a flood of indignation by what was, to him, the destruction of all the solemnity of worship—if the bishop had been asked to state what eucharistic ceremonies the English Reformers retained, without a doubt he would have enumerated, and have also maintained as proper, what gainsayers at the time did not hesitate to designate as rags of popery belonging only to the idolatry of the mass.

Much thought as he had given to the study of church buildings, and to the tracing of the principles which, being petrified, so impress with reverence every sensitive soul, the bishop was far from counting himself entitled to speak of architecture otherwise than with modesty; yet it may be well to note one observation on a disputed point.

Of S. Anthony's Chapel in Padua, the interior of which had disappointed him, he writes:

Leaving the church, spent some time in admiring and enjoying its nobly grouped exterior. It is such a work in brick as I certainly never expected to see. Whether it would look better in stone seems to me doubtful. As it is I see nothing to desiderate in the great features, nor does there seem to be room for improvement in the detail. It is true it is neither Gothic, nor Lombard, nor Byzantine, but it has—*me judice*—the great merit of combining the available features of all three into one harmonious whole. It makes me more than ever disposed to be an eclectic in architecture, and to think that there is no material which science and skill may not use for the accomplishment of a work absolutely good. The façades are certainly rude in their present state, but they are evidently unfinished, and also evidently altered so as to leave no evidence how the architect originally intended to complete them.

Everywhere, as every tourist does, the bishop visited the galleries of art, and with more of sincere admiration than does the often-met traveller who goes where his guide-book tells him. He does not venture on the jargon of the schools, but he does sometimes express the reason for his admiration. Having briefly noticed several of the treasures in the Uffizi in Florence, he says of Carlo Dolce's St. Andrew:

That is the composition of a poet-painter who appeals to the imagination as well as the senses, and trusts to his composition for effect as much as to mere execution. S. Andrew is to be crucified—is not on the cross; his torture is beginning—not in progress or at its height: you imagine more to come than the painter has attempted to represent. So the accessories all tell; even the faces of the distant crowd, when examined, are full of meaning and bear on the main design. No by-play. No *mere* drawing or coloring or

chiaro-oscuro. At the same time these points have all been attended to, only they have been attended to as subordinate. If Carlo Dolce could have had Raphael and Denner to have executed his conception and composition, methinks there would have been a perfect painting.

In the cabinet of Baroccio, in the Royal Galleries, the two admirable paintings by Gherardo delle Notti gave the liveliest pleasure; the larger, in which the body of the infant is luminous, seems to me the finest picture I have ever seen. I would choose it rather than any other in the gallery, not merely for the conception, but for the execution. These faces express just what they ought to. No head of the Virgin that I have seen seems to me so well to express the mingled characteristics and emotions which ought to be expressed: virginity and maternity, human awe and reverence of the divine thing born of her, and motherly affection and pride in her offspring; the joy and exulting wonder of an Israelitess looking on the long-expected seed of David, and the humbled confusion of the espoused of a poor carpenter in beholding the Messiah the fruit of her own womb—all these things seem to me to be spoken by that head. Raphael's bear no comparison with it; they are all earthy. Guercino's have only the one-half of it. Even Carlo Dolce's fall far short of the successful expression, though they show the conception.

Again he thus speaks of the Chapel of the Annunciation in Padua, built in the beginning of the fourteenth century, which Giotto painted with Dante as his counsellor:

It is worthy of the poet—the only painted place of worship which did not appear to me the worse for the labor bestowed on it. But Giotto has conceived the true style of sacred art. He does not aim at reality. It is the supernatural with which he is dealing; he feels it and works as one who knows it. He is not painting men and women as they are and act in ordinary life, but saints, and the Holy One and His enemies and servants, and their followers and associates. A quiet, calm, noble chasteness of outline action, composition, color, reigns in all. There is no violent energy, not even in the agents of the Redeemer's passion or in His betrayer. Their malice and wickedness are too deep for violence. His sufferings too deep for show. The sorrows of His followers too bitter for noisy or demonstrative outbreak, one or two crises excepted, as S. John's at the deposition from the cross. Notwithstanding that the dedication of the chapel necessarily makes the Virgin

prominent in the whole series, she is, making due allowance for the apocryphal part, nowhere offensively or unscripturally so, unless there be something of the kind in her position in the Ascension. In the Pentecost she is not even present. The difference between Giotto in the chapel and Taddeo di Bartolo is quite as noticeable in this respect as in style. . . . The chapel seems to me to be one whole in conception, of which the "Conception of Christ," as the Incarnation, is the key-note. The life of the Virgin is the preparation for it; the Judgment the consequence of it. . . . Giotto's (and Perrugino, with the Bellini and one or two more of the same times, in an inferior degree), seems to me to be the only sacred school—to have alone understood the art of painting for a church.

These extracts from his journal will show at least that the bishop saw with his own eyes, and judged of what he saw according to his own sense of the beautiful and the appropriate. It may be said that his thoughts, in part, are in accord with the utterances of the then newly risen school of Pre-Raphaelites; but he has given no evidence of an acquaintance with their works or teachings.

When Bishop Whittingham was in Italy the white-clad, black-legged soldiers, who told of Austrian rule or support, were seen at every turn. Protestantism and republicanism were suspected and watched. It must have been about this time that occurred in Florence the imprisonment for possessing an Italian Bible, which occasioned excitement among Bible advocates in England and America. At any rate, the spirit which led to this persecution was prevalent, and this makes remarkable an adventure which happened to the bishop when in Florence. At a *table d'hôte* he perceived that he was closely observed by two Italian gentlemen seated on the opposite side of the table, one of whom, as he afterward learned, had in some way heard that he was an American bishop. The courtesies of the table gave an opportunity for conversation, and they afterward asked the privilege of a private interview, sending their cards. Their desire was to gain information touching a church which claimed to be Catholic while rejecting the supremacy of the

Pope. Both were Roman Catholics; the older in a loose sense, while the younger was an earnest religious man. Both were zealous patriots, longing for freedom for Italy, and both counted priestly rule as hindering what they desired. The older could see no prospect of deliverance, political or religious; the younger was not so despondent. Both agreed that the great hindrance was want of faith among the people. Whatever the show of religious observances, there was among the men but little positive religious belief, and this was due to a great extent to loss of confidence in the clergy through their lack of instruction and the unedifying example of their lives. There would be more room for hope, they said, were there faith of any kind, were there any confidence of man in man; but no Italian knew whom he could trust; every man was isolated. The younger man was married, and spent a good part of the year on a secluded estate in the mountains, where he could with more freedom endeavor to train his family in the fear of God, using the forbidden Bible in his teaching.

Of course, to these gentlemen the bishop gladly gave all the instruction opportunity permitted. He gave also to each of them copies of publications of the Anglo-Continental Society, and among them the translation of Bishop Cosin's book.

During the remainder of his stay Count G. C—— and Count M—— devoted themselves to his entertainment, accompanying him to objects of interest in the city and in the environs. Nor did their acquaintance cease with his departure; it was continued by correspondence occasionally after his return to America.

Among other places, these gentlemen went with him to San Marco, where doubtless they must have been known personally to the fathers. The sacristan took them through many long passages and carefully locked doors to an upper loft, in which were preserved the relics of Savonarola, which had once been exposed for veneration in the sacristy,

but had been removed by command. A piece of the stake to which he was bound, a piece of his garment, and a piece of his clerical vestment were enclosed in a box with a glass front, labelled as of "Venerabile padre." Other tokens were given of how the memory of the Reformer is still cherished. The bishop was assured that the reversal of the condemnation of the great preacher is yet hoped for by members of his order.

While on this tour of 1853, seeking health through relaxation from cares, Bishop Whittingham was called on to endure the burden of two griefs which weighed very heavily upon his spirits; one was the loss by death of his near and much valued friend, Judge Glenn. When speaking of the provision for the bishop's travel, mention was made of the not too large but ever ready body of laymen in Baltimore, who counted it a pleasure to aid their bishop in any way. Prominent among these was the efficient helper now lost. The lawyer and the clergyman were unlike in many respects, but there had existed a very strong mutual esteem, and the survivor never ceased to cherish the memory of it, even as he was always glad to acknowledge his personal obligations as well as help in diocesan matters. When the bishop learned by letter that his friend was dead, he simply wrote after a record of the fact, *Eheu! Eheu!!* but in his pocket-book he noted—"July 8th: This day my kind friend and benefactor, the warm-hearted, liberal, open-handed Judge Glenn was called away by apoplexy. Oh, may he have been ready!"

Another and more bitter sorrow was the loss, not by death but by a living separation, of a dear young presbyter. The position of Bishop Whittingham as a churchman, which made him to be suspected and opposed by evangelicals in his diocese and out of his diocese, made him an attraction to those who, with him, had been trained in the school of Hobart, or who had felt the influence of the Oxford movement. In the earlier half of his episcopate, high-churchmen sought employment in Maryland and were content to make

sacrifices for the support of sympathy. Especially the young, whether from abroad or Marylanders, gathered around the bishop and had their enthusiasm for Catholic truth kindled by his zeal.

Is it a matter of surprise that what he helped to kindle he could not always temper? That in Maryland, as elsewhere, zealots for Catholicism chilled by necessary contact with Protestantism, listened to the claims of Rome and persuaded themselves that the escape from all that had been felt as a hindrance was to be found in submission to a system which promises peace in return for entire self-abnegation?

A son of a New England Congregationalist minister, who looked forward to the same ministry, having rejected the teaching of his childhood, found a home in the house of Bishop Whittingham and was intimate in his family during several years, while serving as a Maryland clergyman; fearing the approach of consumption he went South, and suddenly he announced that he was a Catholic.

Another, a descendant of a family Puritan of the Puritans, but who had received all his theological education under the bishop's roof, after an absence of some years also became a papist. There were others who in the course of years followed the same path; and notably the rector of a Baltimore church, of more learning than any one of the others, a man who had shared the bishop's confidence and had looked up to him as a trusted guide. For these men he sorrowed, for he believed that they had wilfully gone into the way of error, and so of exceeding danger. But in the case of Francis Asbury Baker, he also sorrowed much for himself.

This gentleman, as his name may suggest, was of a Methodist family—their forefathers had been among those who had founded the society. When a boy he had been sent to a Romish school, and there received impressions from which he never was free. After graduation at Princeton, he probably would have avowed himself to be a Roman Catholic, and have sought admission to a Roman Catholic seminary, but

for family influence and the fact that church teachings, which he had not before known, seemed to satisfy the yearnings produced by a contrast of Roman Catholicism with Methodism. He became a candidate for orders, and in due time a deacon. There was much of similarity between him and his friend the bishop. His manner in the pulpit, and even the texture of his sermons, reminded hearers of the bishop, of whom the ill-disposed said he was a copyist. They were alike in finding their chief solace in quiet study and self-communings, and in entire devotion of self to their spiritual calling, not looking for personal advancement.

Mr. Baker was ready, at any time, to labor unnoticed, although he could not but perceive the tokens of admiration. To the writer he seemed one of the most lovable of men, although suffering rather than encouraging warmth of affection toward himself. Like the bishop, his tendencies were ascetic, and like him also he never put on the outward guise of asceticism beyond an habitual gravity and reticence. While discharging his duties as a servant of the church, as he afterward confessed, his first love for the observances of the Roman Catholics still affected him. When the time came for priest's orders, he honestly opened his mind to his diocesan; his difficulties were met and set aside, and he was ordained. He had taken charge of a missionary congregation, and was building up a church which became afterward one of the most prominent in the city. But while confirming others in the faith, he became more and more uncertain. If he communicated his doubts to any, he did not to some who had claims on his confidence. After the separation it was learned that he had been for some time in a state of distress, seeking the while relief through the intercession of the saints.

The crisis came through a call from a stranger to attend a dying girl, and satisfy doubts which made her desire the instruction of a Roman Catholic priest. That night was

sleepless, and he had no rest until his decision was fixed. After he had told the father of the dying girl that he shared her doubts, on two consecutive mornings he read prayers as a priest in his congregation, the second time having in his pocket his written resignation; from the chapel he went to the President of the Standing Committee—the bishop being in Europe—to announce his abandonment of the Church which had given him orders, and immediately after he made his submission to the Roman Catholic bishop.

So soon as the fact was known joy spread through the community to which he had turned, and his people whom he had left were overwhelmed with grief. After nearly thirty years, a pious woman has been heard to say that life has never been to her the same since that shock. And yet, of those who loved this holy man and revered him as their pastor, the number that followed him was not appreciable. A mother and two daughters, who had been taught by him all they knew of Christ—and none other. The same result has been observed in other cases of clerical perversion. The fact is remarkable.

What is it that leads men to the abandonment of our Church for that of Rome?

So far as my experience reaches it is a desire for what, in worship and mode of teaching, is believed by them to be our Catholic inheritance, because seen to belong to ages which we designate as primitive and claim to be our model. That is, it is not a doubt as to their rights, but a feeling that they can elsewhere better enjoy their rights. It is not doubt as to Anglican ordinations; this comes after the decision has been reached. It has been said that Robert Wilberforce feared the sacrilege of re-ordination, and prayed that death might come to him rather than that he should commit it.

If human testimony be worth anything, he, whose loss to the Church of England is still lamented, was ordained hypothetically, or, more properly speaking, was permitted

to consider himself to be conditionally ordained in the Roman Church. One who is now a Roman Catholic priest, when on the point of his submission, consulted Dr. Newman, and this is an account of the interview written half an hour after:

I continued my questions. Does the Roman Church dogmatically and unanimously teach the total invalidity of Anglican orders? "Not at all. We merely feel Anglican orders to be unsafe; and they are hypothetically repeated only. When I became a Catholic I had difficulty as to re-ordination, and I consulted Cardinal Wiseman. He assured me that the general opinion among Catholics was that, in the case of Anglicans, orders are hypothetically repeated; and when I asked why the hypotheticalness was not stated in the ordination itself, he said, 'For the reason that there was no place in the service where it could be stated. In baptism the formula is all that is essential, and the hypothesis can precede that formula. But it is still matter of dispute what is the essential part of ordination, and that being the case, there is no place in the ordination service where the hypothesis could with certainty be placed.'"

The cases must be rare of abandonment of the Church of England or our own, through a conviction of want of orders, or through an acceptance of papal supremacy after historical examination of the controversy.

Mr. Baker's reasons, as given to his quondam bishop, however moving to himself, seem very inoperative; sentiment is not communicable by way of argument. More than one friend has been converted by a dream; how can one oppose such a motive? From the Church men have turned to Quakerism, as to a system better suited to their spiritual needs; others have become Irvingites, or Swedenborgians. The bias of a man's mind inclines him to one error or its opposite. The papal system is not a thing of chance. On a true foundation it was built up by men, and therefore men of like mind find in this seeming temple of God what is suited to their nature. With a show of the supernatural, it is especially rational. And as men formed it to meet the demands of reasoning, so men are ready to accept it who

cannot face a doubt or difficulty which is unremoved by God.

Among men of my personal acquaintance who have become papists, one, because he believed in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and trusted that he was in that Church, taught his Sunday scholars that their companions who were not Protestant Episcopalians, were in a state of damnation. What wonder that he could not remain among us! Another had always been troubled when asked the ground of his enthusiasm; he never would test truth. Another, while still convinced that Anglican orders could not be assailed with a show of truth, thought the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Pope—from which Roman Catholics at the time were shrinking—to be a desirable thing; he did not then believe it, but he wished it were true; he wanted positive assurance on every point. These went to their own place when they went where they could dogmatize logically and conscientiously escape all need of trying the spirits, whether they be of God.

Bishop Whittingham has described still another, in a letter to a friend who enquired about a former presbyter of Maryland who had 'verted or was about to do so.

BALTIMORE, May 21, 1855.

MY DEAR C.:

I have no recollection of any conversation with D—— on the subject of W——'s tendencies toward Rome in 1849, nor of any particular conversation with W—— at that time.

[The cause of forgetfulness he afterward explained to Mr. D——. "It has been my habit for many years to dismiss at once from my mind injurious impressions concerning others, of whatever kind, from whatever source, as soon as it became clear that they involved no duty on my part; and I have been so far successful that I should probably be an extremely unsafe witness with relation to anything of the kind (even in matters at the time of the closest personal concernment to myself) not of very recent occurrence. Therefore I am not surprised that your recollections in this case are better than my own."] I remember having been somewhat uneasy concerning W——'s position about that time, and having felt myself relieved

from the uneasiness. I only know that the general impression left on my mind concerning W—— was that of a rather impulsive, vacillating, ill-regulated temperament, etc., such as caused your communication, though unlooked for, to occasion less surprise.

Mr. W—— wrote me a brief note on Easter eve, announcing his resolution, but neither then nor when I saw him, did he communicate a single rational motive for the tremendous change he was about to make. He presented himself to me, in the interview, in the attitude and bearing ascribed to a charmed animal fluttering in agony before the extended jaws of the serpent into which it is about to precipitate itself. As he brought forward no particular argument or fact as the ground of his difficulty, I could only state in general terms my convictions concerning the papal system, and the grounds on which I confidently rested in those convictions—of long and patient study, personal intercourse and observation, etc.; but with little hope of other effect than might result from beating air or water. As regards the position of men holding and teaching Roman principles in the bosom of the Church, my published charge on the subject is sufficiently declarative of my views.

But yet the bishop was held responsible for the perversion of every one who could be supposed to have been under his influence. The numbers whom he had helped to regain their footing when shaken by Romish suggestions were never heard of, or not considered. Known to be familiar with the history of Roman claims, both bishops and pastors applied to him for help in dealing with minds disturbed by these claims, and honest, sober-minded persons, incapable of escape from what they could not but think to be a snare, sought his aid to disentangle the web which was too intricate for themselves.

Bishop Whittingham kept back men from what he looked upon as schism, with great danger of soul-damning heresies; and yet he was not fitted to stay every man who, troubled by the difficulties of his position as a Protestant Episcopalian, was inclined to listen to the promises of Popery. The very men he had led out of mere Protestantism might find him to hold them back from what they had supposed him to point out as the full inheritance of a Catho-

lic. To those whom he had brought out of dissent and had baptized into the Church, he taught what Evangelicals denounce as among the worst errors of Popery—the sacramental doctrines which result from a full acceptance of the Mystery of the Incarnation. As regards the relation of the Reformed Church to that of antiquity, he—it is little to say—asserted the necessary continuity of the Church, and the purpose of the English reformers not to depart from anything Catholic, but to return to the teaching, and, as well, the practices of the Primitive Church; and if asked, "What is the Primitive Church?" he would have answered—what the assembled Anglican bishops asserted—that it is represented by the Church in the ages of the undoubted Œcumenical Councils, that is, the first six—or at least four—of those so called.

But is the tone of thought prevalent in our Church in this day in full harmony with that of Christians in the middle of the fifth century? Our symbols of faith are the same, else were we heretical; but there is a difference in sentiment and in the tendencies of sentiment.

It would not have been admitted by Bishop Whittingham that one under his jurisdiction could have a right to set up the religious standard of that period as the rule of his public ministrations, to which by teaching he must seek to lead those under him. He would have drawn a broad line between what was then authoritatively taught and ruled, and opinions, however generally held; he would have insisted on the distinction between doctrine and discipline; the former he would have tried by the rule *Quod semper*, etc., which will take one to earlier ages than the fifth; and as regards all that can be defined as matter of discipline, he would have asserted that the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies; that for us she has exercised that power, and that we are bound to conform to what "this Church hath received" as her rule in teaching and worship; and where she has not pointed out that rule he would not have

admitted the right of any individual, on the plea that he was justified by primitive custom, to act so as to contravene the generally accepted rule. While private opinion and personal mode of life might be governed by one's perception of what was primitive usage, it was not so in anything that concerned the body of the brethren; this should be regulated by the provisions of the Church of which one is a minister. He was fully content to bear the restraint placed on him by the Church which had commissioned him, and he had little patience with those not of the same submissive temper.

Now, to magnify our claims as part of the Catholic Church because we hold all that is primitive, and yet, because of modern usage and ignorance, to forbid the practice of what is confessedly primitive—in the mind of some this is to palter with us in a double sense. They feel as the hearers of Father Paul Sarpi may have felt when, at the close of a sermon on What is truth? he exclaimed, "I have found it! and"—drawing from the bosom of his frock a copy of the New Testament—"here it is! *Ma e prohibito.*"

The bishop, in his zeal against Popery, had no great tenderness toward those who err in that direction. An English dignitary said to a clergyman who had sought counsel, "Any man in English orders who is tempted to be a papist is a fool!" Bishop Whittingham could not have been so rude; yet he sometimes as effectually hindered his influence for possible good. More than one doubter in Maryland has confessed that, with all reverence and trust, he could not open his grief to his father in God; he feared too much his vehemence.

When the loved leader of the Oxford movement had grieved his followers by his defection and by his volume on Development, this fiery zeal prompted a letter which could not but have given pain to the near friend of Mr. Newman, the gentle Dr. Pusey, whose writings may be

searched in vain for one word of bitterness, however great the provocation.

LETTER TO DR. PUSEY, WRITTEN IN 1845.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER:

. . . With whatever reluctance on your part, late events have thrown you into the very responsible position of an acknowledged leader. . . You well know that many hearts in this branch of the Catholic Church have been warmed with lively sympathy with you in your trials and afflictions. . . In proportion to our anxiety concerning you, and our thankfulness that your footsteps have been kept in the right path, is the longing on our part that you may, in this crisis of the Catholic Church and Faith, wherever the English tongue prevails, be strengthened more and more to become a champion for the truth against all ungodliness and the deceitfulness of sin in every shape. It was Levi's blessing that, when his people was tempted at Massah and the waters of Meribah, he acknowledged not his brethren, nor knew his own children in his zeal for the Lord, to observe His covenant and to keep his word. Many of us judge that you are now called to inherit such a blessing. Bring forth proof whether your zeal for the House of God be sufficient to dissolve the bonds of many years' affection and deep personal indebtedness for spiritual profit and advantage, and make you regard and treat the treacherous forsakers and opposers of the Church of God what their miserable fall has made them, enemies and gainsayers of the truth. . . We pray that of His infinite mercy, God will be pleased to have compassion on them . . . but they have made themselves open and deadly foes toward the Spirit and Body of our Lord . . . ensnarers of His children. . . Loyalty cannot tamper with treason. Our King demands of the members, and far more of the officers of His host, a total abnunciation of the enemy. . . . A man, once loved and honored as a most dear brother, has lifted up his heel against his and our holy Mother, and set himself to destroy the evidence of her espousals . . . Dare we bear with such conduct and seem to connive at it by using gentle language or passing it by in silence? If schism be a sin, we must treat schismatics as sinners, or be ourselves partakers of their guilt. If the defence and profession of sin be an aggravation of the sin, we must as such expose it. . .

The argument just put forth . . . while it presents no novelty in the matter, and but little in the form, furnishes a melancholy

evidence of the weakness of the grounds on which so strong, so earnest, so devout a mind could be cozened into misbelief and sin. An experiment tried with utter failure two hundred years ago, has succeeded in his case. Reason has brought herself to abdicate her throne in pretended subjection to faith, on terms of her own making, and therefore within her own power to keep or break. To establish a creed anathematized, as if by prophetic foresight, by the Church Universal in the third and fourth great councils, the wretched effort has been made to lower the Catholic faith in the Blessed Trinity to a level in which it may be possible to set up the modern development of a Roman Conciliabulum. To vindicate the slavery in which a usurping brother has for centuries kept so large a portion of the Western Church, the most . . . untrue representations put forth by his adherents have been admitted as if undeniable. . . . My heart bleeds while writing thus of one whose name I cannot bring myself to associate with charges of unfairness, dishonor, and falsehood. But these are the fruits of the disguised rationalism by which he has been ensnared. . . His recent treatise is (no doubt without his consciousness) neither more nor less than an ingenious and subtle mystification of the process of substituting subjective persuasion for objective certainty. . . . Such a deed so done is not to be spoken of in mincing words. Our honest love for the Blessed Lord Who bought us, forbids it. . .

I know that by writing in this strain, I must give you pain. I know too that the rules of ordinary intercourse hardly permit such an address from one who is in a wordly view a stranger; but the office I bear in the Church of Christ makes me no stranger to any of his sons, and on one with whom I have wept and for whom I have prayed, as tears and prayers have been poured forth for you, I feel that even painful counsel may be obtruded in godly simplicity and sincerity without fear of its being misapprehended or resented as unkind impertinence. . .

In the name of God be true to your dear mother, now in her need. By the blessed love of Christ, be bold to take up the cause of his Holy Spirit against all gainsayers. Show a steady leading to the thousands who only want a steady, true-hearted leader to carry on the happy revival, that is so surely and rapidly advancing, of primitive faith and worship, primitive zeal and obedience, and would to God I could also say of primitive love and holiness.

Your truly loving though humble and unworthy brother,

W. R. Whittingham,
Bishop of Maryland.

That to which the bishop exhorted the reverend doctor he would not have hesitated to do. At the bidding of God he was capable of the act of Levi. But personally he entertained only loving sorrow with respect to those who had wounded him by departing from the truth. No one ever heard from his lips a harsh word against any one who had thus disappointed him. A short while before he went abroad in 1853 a grief and scandal had befallen not only him but the Church. The Bishop of North Carolina had renounced his orders, after having been a papist secretly some time, although how long cannot be said. This gentleman was a very near friend of Bishop Whittingham. When elected to North Carolina he resigned the Church of St. Luke's in New York, to which Mr. Whittingham succeeded. As bishops they were always associated, and there existed between them the fullest confidence and personal affection. Nothing could be more tender than the expressions of affection in the letters of Bishop Ives to his friend, and this regard was wholly reciprocated. Of course, the one as well as the other was suspected of popery, of Jesuitical effort to corrupt the Church. The Bishop of Maryland as little thought that he of North Carolina could ever justify the lesser of these suspicions as that he himself should do so. In 1850, referring to a late pastoral letter which had caused an excitement and protest, he wrote to a presbyter: "I for one believe the Bishop of North Carolina to be as far from Romanism as you or I, but to have been drawn into the expression of views of an extreme character and dangerously unguarded form." Two years later he had heard, on testimony which he could not doubt, of irregular conduct, which he could only account for on the supposition of derangement of mind, and accordingly, in a letter to the Presiding Bishop, dated October 28, 1852, he took first steps toward procuring a thorough investigation into his mental condition. These were not followed up. The *dénouement* came. The friends of the quondam bishop, and none more than his close friend

Whittingham, were overwhelmed by shame and sorrow. While they who had foreseen, as they supposed, how High-churchism must end in popery, were confirmed in their view, and asserted in private and openly that the next avowal of perversion would be from the Puseyite Whittingham. They went so far as to say that this plea of ill-health, making necessary a voyage to Europe, was a sham; that he was going, like Ives, to Rome to make his submission. Said one to a personal friend of the bishop on the eve of his sailing: "So your friend Bishop Whittingham is going abroad again! Going to Italy, I hear, after Bishop Ives, I dare say—to Rome at last!" "Why, as for that," was the answer, "the bishop is a man of judgment and good taste, and will, I dare say, go to Rome, if he find it convenient and for the advantage of his health. But in your sense of his going to Rome, I am willing to bind myself in any sum you will name, to go after him when he does it, and to cross the ocean for the purpose in a wash-tub." So if there were those who did not trust him, there were others who wholly believed in him.

At the time that the deposition of Mr. Baker was announced, the convention was notified that another presbyter had resigned the ministry, having become a Presbyterian. With this malcontent because the Church was not Protestant enough—an old man who would give no reason in writing, nor yet see his diocesan—the bishop was very gentle. Perhaps to this fact, in part, was due the subsequent return of the wanderer, who begged to be received again, not with the hope of resuming his labors as a minister, but "that he might as such die in the bosom of his mother."

LETTERS.

TO A NEAR FRIEND WHO HAD RENOUNCED HIS ORDERS.

St. James's College, March 2, 1846.

Augustus:

You have addressed me as a "father" and have stabbed me to the heart! You have talked to me of love, and have flung in my face the love and confidence I have been for years reposing in you. You write to me of a *determination taken*, which either you have made in three short months of broken study, or have been making in hollow secrecy while at my board and beneath my roof, when you knew I could and would have used my influence to save you from it, had you dared or chosen to allow me. I cannot, will not believe such a thing of you. You have, in disease, in loneliness, in absence of advice and books, rashly, madly hurried into a resolve, which, if prosecuted, must cost you long, bitter years, if not an eternity of repentance. You meditate treason to the Church of God. You are about to plunge yourself headlong into a wicked schism. I adjure you by the love you once bore me not to do this dreadful deed. I charge you, in the name of Him whose authority I bear, and whose commission, in an inferior degree, binds you to me, to turn before you take this step. On your canonical obedience (from which no dream, no rash resolve of your own can set you free) I command you not to open communication with any person in the Roman schism of this country, if you have not already done it, and to break it off if you have. I know I cannot command either your judgment or your conscience. I do not wish to. I wish to save them free, by withholding you from a wild, rash, wicked act. At the bar of God I shall expect you to answer, at your soul's peril, if you disregard this remonstrance and command. I take the consequences of your delay. I charge myself with the danger to be incurred if you further hesitate. I know what I am doing. You do not. You are in many respects utterly unprepared for the awful responsibility you

are assuming. It is no light thing to take the step you have once taken; but when once in the bosom of the Church of God to lift your heel against it, and forsaking it to embrace an inveterate and deadly schism, is among the most heinous sins that Satan, in the garb of an angel of light, is ever suffered to delude the self-confident, the presumptuous, the headstrong, the unruly to commit. You know me, and I know you, and therefore I speak as strongly as I think. I still cling to the hope that if this reaches you, God may bless it to be the means of checking you in your rashness. Remember, you have no plea of private judgment to urge with me. Brought into the Church of God by holy baptism, you have put yourself under me as your bishop, and bound yourself to me by the reception of sacred orders at my hands. I have to give an account of you to the Lord, my Judge and yours. I shall surrender you to no usurping schismatic, nor weakly allow you to withdraw yourself from my hands by the plea of conscience, when I who know your reading and your reasoning, know that your conscience is ill informed and, warped by temporary causes. Should you obey me now, and after long, patient study and conference and prayer, remain in the delusion which now possesses you, I could not let you go—not give you up to sin—but look on your course with sorrowing anxiety, and with painful endeavors to render it, if that might be, less sinful in you and less injurious to the Church of God. But if you now madly tear yourself out of the blessed communion and holy ministry of which God has permitted you to partake, without even assigning to me, whom you call your father and own your friend, to your bishop, a single reason for the act, a single opportunity to save you from it and its consequences, a gulf must thenceforth part us—I fear, oh, Augustus, I do fear—forever. I love you from my soul. But I love my Saviour and his Church more. Him I must serve, if I cut off my right hand to do it.

Your heart-wrung friend, father, and bishop,

W. R. WHITTINGHAM.

CHAPTER XVI.

AFTER THE RETURN FROM EUROPE IN 1853.

1853–1860.

From his tour abroad in 1853 Bishop Whittingham returned in time for the opening of the court which met in Camden for the trial of Bishop Doane. Three weeks after its adjournment he was in his place at general convention, which met this year in New York City. Among the first matters that occupied each House was the grievous abandonment of his diocese by Dr. Ives. Speedy legislation was necessary. The renunciation of the ministry by a bishop seems not to have been contemplated when provision was made for such a lapse on the part of a priest or a deacon; and there was no time for trial and deposition of the delinquent, for the Convention of North Carolina, assuming that a letter from Dr. Ives resigning into their hands his office of Bishop of North Carolina did of itself dissolve his connection with the diocese, had proceeded to the election of his successor, and now asked of General Convention confirmation of their choice. There were doubts whether this election could be considered valid; and in the House of Deputies these doubts were embodied in a minority report of the Committee on Consecrations, which denied that the diocese could be vacated by the joint action of bishop and convention, but only by due process of law. In the House of Bishops there seems to have been great uncertainty as to what action should be taken. It is an amusing fact that a leader of opinion avowed an unwillingness to anathematize, lest a precedent should be formed which might govern action in the case of a departure of a

bishop in the direction opposite to that of Rome; and lest also the severity of the sentence might serve as a check to any other disposed to follow Dr. Ives. At the same time he could not consent to call Rome by so gentle a term as schismatic.

On the fourth day of the session the bishops sent down a canon, the import of which is that a bishop who has abandoned, or may hereafter abandon the communion of the Church, in whatsoever way his renunciation may be manifested, shall be held *ipso facto* deposed.

There seems to have been some uncertainty as to what might be the decision of the House of Deputies. If not, then from some other cause, on the eighth day Bishop Whittingham introduced resolutions looking to independent action on the part of the bishops in council. But while his proposal was under consideration their canon was returned to them amended only as to one particle, which amendment was accepted. Action in council was thus set aside.

The next day the House took up the case of Dr. Ives as coming under the new canon. An act of deposition was submitted and approved, which contained no anathema or any harsh word excepting against the "impious pretensions" of the Bishop of Rome to be the Vicar of Christ. After due formalities, the bishops proceeded in a body to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. Prayer was offered, and from his chair the Presiding Bishop, with the authority of the other bishops' *nominatim*, declared Dr. Ives to be deposed "from the office of a bishop in the Church of God." Not from his office in *this Church.*

The avoidance of strong terms was not through the choice of the son of Levi, the Bishop of Maryland. In the records of his official acts is this entry:

FRIDAY, October 14th.

Joined in the solemn act of deposition of the late Rt. Rev. Levi Siliman Ives, an absconding and apostate delinquent from his See of North Carolina, and his office and work in the ministry.

During this session of General Convention, which was remarkably peaceful, four bishops were consecrated; two being missionary bishops for the Pacific coast. Various events had shown the need of a more perfect judicial system, and steps were taken to attain this, the Bishop of Maryland being on the committee. But it was too serious labor to be effected by one convention. The first effort, too, was made looking to a modification of forms of worship, a notable memorial on this subject having been presented by Dr. Muhlenberg and others, who, in part, desired what convention has lately consented should be considered, at least in committee, under the name of enrichment of services. The memorial met with little favor; with none from Bishop Whittingham, who would have consented to no modification of the Book of Common Prayer, or of the prescribed use of it, and yet when one of the bishops, for his own guidance, expressed a wish to have the opinion of his brethren touching the propriety of consecrating burial grounds, seeing that no provision had been made for such a service, Bishop Whittingham asserted that the consecration of places for burial had always been practised in Maryland, and that he would not have his liberty curtailed by the mere opinions of other bishops.

All of every day during the harassing trial in Camden was spent in the court room; and not a day during the longer session of General Convention was he absent from his place in the House of Bishops, and in the two assemblies he bore his full share of labor and brought upon himself the fatigue which was with him inseparable from excitement. And yet—possibly as a consequence of all this—when the bishop met his Convention the May following, in his address, which was, counter to his custom, almost wholly confined to a report of what had been done, he had to say of himself:

> The important duties devolving on the House of Bishops in September and October last, required my return before the full measure of benefit hoped for had been realized. I came back but partly re-

stored to ability for official duty; and have had the mortification, through the whole course of the autumnal and winter months, to find myself broken down almost immediately on any attempt to resume my wonted course of public ministry. Three times a total loss of voice, of greater or less duration, ensued upon such attempts. Thus warned, it was not until late in spring that I could venture the announcement of visitations, which might otherwise have resulted in embarrassing disappointments productive of more injury than a prolongation of their postponement.

I make this statement, however reluctant to occupy you with merely personal considerations, because reasons of a different nature have been assigned for my comparative confinement to the City of Baltimore this winter and spring. They are wholly erroneous and unfounded. I have not remained in the city a day under any other consideration than those arising from the state of my health, which hindered me from giving the required canonical notice of appointments that I had no reasonable hope of being able to fulfil.

At the close of this address he further says:

Of the condition and prospects of the diocese I prefer, on this occasion, that the Convention should draw its own conclusions from the details now submitted, and from other information that will be before it. Your Bishop claims only to have striven honestly to the best of his knowledge and ability, in fulfilment of his office, to carry out the laws by which he, equally with you all, is bounden, and which he has been chosen and solemnly sworn to administer with impartial faithfulness.

What were the unjust rumors here spoken of or to what the Bishop refers, when he speaks of having striven to do his duty, is forgotten. It is only known that at this time he was much depressed by the unkind reproaches cast upon him concerning Romanism; and also by the unreasonable self-reproach for having been away when his presence might have helped his young friend Baker, who had promised that he would always discuss his doubts with his Bishop, and take no step without his knowledge, and who had considered himself freed from this promise by the fact that there was an ocean between them. The Bishop's grief was like to that related of S. John, who learned that in his

absence his son in the Gospel, in whom he had trusted, had become a robber. The condition of the diocese was good, and it had suffered in no respect through lack of Episcopal offices.

By the next year the bishop had regained his tone of cheerfulness. His address opens with the declaration that "In the fifteen years for which it has been my lot to render you annual reports of the condition of the diocese no one has been characterized by such even, steady growth and so equally diffused prosperity as that now closing." In all respects except wealth, he said, the diocese had doubled in fourteen years, and "it might have doubled twice in that time if we had all done our duty." As a means of leading to a right discharge of duty he placed great reliance on the working of the canon of church extension—if only members of the diocese would honestly attempt to make it something more than printed words. He knew that a diocese as a Christian body is a unit; he felt the force of the obligation resting on the strong to help the weak, and endeavored to make his people feel with him that the strong in so doing would be indeed helping themselves—growing the stronger.

From his first coming among them he had tried to break through the isolation of parishes, their selfish consideration of their own advancement, and to put before them the glory of God in the good of the whole as their true aim; and acting in committee he had himself drawn up what in 1854 he speaks of as already five years old, but which is known as the canon of 1853. This law of the diocese requires the yearly appointment of four committees, of each of which the bishop shall be the head, and in which the number of lay members doubles that of the presbyters. These four bodies shall have the direction of all that concerns the charities of the whole diocese and rightly demands the aid of each member — missions, education, disabled clergy, etc. They must meet at least monthly.

In each county in the district and in Baltimore there shall be a subsidiary association which shall meet quarterly. To forward all church work in their respective districts, to collect moneys, to disseminate information by public meetings and by publications and in any other way, and to hand over the money they may have received to be expended by the central committees—this is their appointed work.

There may be also, and there ought to be, in every congregation a parochial association.

The purpose is to make every parish feel the bond which unites it to the whole, and every man in every parish recognize his personal obligation to spend and be spent in the cause of God. The plan may be admitted to be admirable. To make it known and to enforce it an agent was sent for a while to the parishes. It was always dear to the bishop and it was always a trouble to him, for the result was so little. "Our deficiencies," as he said, "are not in laws but in workings. A canon that will work itself is not likely to be discovered before the invention of a perpetual motion." It is an easy thing to obtain in a religious assembly a favorable vote on any matter that concerns everybody in general. A few earnest men propose a scheme to meet an acknowledged need, they may mean what they say; a larger number talk emotionally; they who know the while how little will be done, how very little is to be expected from those who are so prompt to pledge the body as a whole, say nothing, and the vote when taken is recorded as unanimous.

No sooner was the bishop's canon passed than modifications were proposed. In 1872 it was repealed and another enacted less likely to be disregarded. The central committees still exist and distribute money sent to them in whatever way obtained. Excepting in the city of Baltimore it is probable that there was never any action by any district association in obedience to this canon.

The address of the bishop in 1855, after reciting how

marked had been the growth of the diocese, and showing how claims increase with growth, closes with these words:

> Does not the progress of demand at once bind us and encourage us to increased exertion? Brethren! our Lord has left on record for our monition his own rule of duty by which he framed the course the example of which he requires us to follow: "*I must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work.*" May he enable us to bear that rule in mind, and so work as remembering how short our day, and how surely the night is drawing on.

Of more importance than the best machinery of charities is a generally felt sense of responsibility. In proportion as the duty to labor is felt the opportunity for labor will present itself.

In 1856 the bishop reported:

> My visitations within the past year were, for a portion of the year, again interrupted by a feeble condition of body. They have, however, extended to the average amount. Never in any year of my episcopate have they afforded me more personal gratification, or as much varied encouragement to look hereafter for better things than any which have yet called for thankfulness. In this city, especially, there is an evident awakening of interest in all the fruits of faith and love, and quickening of zeal for the work of Christ in all its forms and applications, such as has not heretofore been known among us.

When the Convention next met its head was absent because of sickness. There was little that was new or stirring to impart. The course of the diocese through the past year had been even and affected by few perturbations. So said the bishop in his address, which was read by Dr. Kerfoot. One incident mentioned by him is remarkable. Telling of the consecration of a country church he says:

> Never before had I seen or heard of what took place on that occasion. The approach to the table of the Lord of a number of communicants greater than the house would seat, so that in the offertory the collectors of alms were compelled to go without the walls to

make their round among the standing crowd of silent and reverent worshippers.

During the following twelve months an unusual amount of episcopal work was done. The address, which the bishop himself read, opened with the announcement of "a year of quiet and steady progress in things spiritual so far as they can be estimated by human judgment."

But yet these signs of advancement were received as tokens of what might be, and therefore ought to be done.

> In Baltimore alone—he thought—five churches in process of formation are the very fewest that ought to be kept constantly going to maintain at all the proportion of our communion to the population. . . . We have, in the members of our communion in this city alone, abundant materials in men and money to do the work needed, were they at the disposal of Christ for his Gospel's sake.
>
> A most gratifying evidence of what can be done, when work is zealously undertaken, has been afforded in this city in the last year by the Trustees of the Church Home, in the purchase and refitment of the building now occupied in Broadway, where the work formerly divided between the Church Home and St. Andrew's Infirmary is now carried on as one by the deaconesses of the diocese, under the supportance and provision of the admirable association of churchwomen banded together for the maintenance of the Home.

Although one feature has for the present disappeared, and although it is in no respect duly estimated as a diocesan institution, or adequately maintained, this charity, the Church Home and Infirmary, has proved to be an abiding one with some measure of success. Certainly, it has thus far been a blessing to many, and has to some extent removed a reproach from the Church, the reproach of doing nothing as a church for Christ's sick and helpless ones.

The origin of the Church Home is due to the deep interest felt in the labors of the Rev. E. B. Tuttle among the destitute poor in the northwestern portion of the city. In order to obtain money to help him in his charities, the pupils of S. Mary's Hall, a school for girls of which Rev.

S. R. Sargeant was principal, held a fair, an aid to self-denying charity then wholly approved. Before the sum thus gained had been expended the views of those engaged with Mr. Tuttle were expanded and they saw before them the possibility of "an institution for supplying the bodily and intellectual and spiritual needs of the poor." It was thought that the work entered on would be one of time, but they were willing to work slowly.

They were soon encouraged to more active exertions by many offers of assistance, and it was determined to raise at once a fund which would warrant the opening of the Home contemplated. In July, 1854, the bishop named trustees who should receive and manage the fund until such time as the organization should be perfected.

As the first gatherings were made by church girls, so in the main through the efforts of churchwomen the hope entertained was realized. Through donations and the large proceeds of another fair very nearly the sum deemed essential was obtained.

In October, 1855, the contributors were called together; trustees were appointed with directions to obtain a charter, appoint a rector and open a home, provided this could be done without encroaching on the permanent fund. A building was rented, Mr. Tuttle was appointed rector, the associated ladies of four congregations undertook the charge of current expenses, and on October 10th the Home was opened.

A report to the Convention in 1857 states that the Home had been in practical operation nearly two years, receiving the aged and infirm to the number of about twenty-five.

The Infirmary owes its origin to the Rev. Horace Stringfellow, Rector of St. Andrews, in that part of Baltimore called Old Town. He had visited Kaiserwerth. The zeal kindled there was imparted to a widowed lady of Boston, Mrs. Tyler, who was readily persuaded to attempt with him the founding of something like to Fielder's Institution.

Accompanied by several others who shared her spirit, she removed to Baltimore, and, relying on an honest promise of freedom from all consideration of monetary matters, undertook the direction of what was intended to be "a place of refuge for the destitute sick, and also of quiet religious nursing for sick members of the Church desirous of and able to pay for the advantage."

This was entered on without previous training. What began as parish work was soon established as The Infirmary of the Diocese of Maryland. As had been always purposed, the Christian women who had undertaken it offered themselves to the bishop for the charitable ministrations of the Church; they were by him organized as Deaconnesses, and received a rule, recognized to be only tentative.

During the General Convention in 1859, the Bishop submitted questions touching Deaconnesses to the consideration of the House of Bishops. His brief note of the result is:

> Georgia thought it ought not to be an order, nor to have a name implying it.
>
> Maryland stated—holding his liberty as to the thing—it was precisely the points started by Georgia that he submitted to the guidance of the House.

The House declined giving what was asked of them; they were not prepared to express any opinion on the subject; although some informally disapproved of any setting apart with ceremony. It was thought better that the Bishop of Maryland should meet the difficulties that might present themselves in his own way, lest, should evil grow out of his action, it might be said that he had appealed to the House and received no contrary opinion.

Mr. Stringfellow had been counselled and encouraged by the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, the founder of many permanent works of benevolence, to whom belongs the credit of having successfully introduced into the American Church the associated work of women living in community. Yet,

as the first organization under the name Deaconnesses was made in Maryland, so much earlier in the history of the Diocese, something approaching community life with outside associates was attempted in Baltimore.

The founder of the Infirmary, called elsewhere, having left his Institution to the fostering care of others, the large and well-placed buildings of a dissolved Medical College were purchased for the Church Home, together with the Diocesan Infirmary, and here, under the government of a large body of Trustees, the combined charities were placed under the care of the Deaconnesses.

The order lacked—it may not be becoming to enquire why—the power of cohesion. One and another exercised her right to withdraw, and at last the "First Deaconness" was left alone. Until called to her reward she was engaged in many good works, but the body with which she was first connected has no continuance. I think Mrs. Tyler was always called First Deaconness.

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd, organized for parish work under the rector of St. Luke's, succeeded, perhaps not immediately, to the charge of the Deaconnesses. After some years of good work, leaving two of their oldest members inmates of the Home they had served from its foundation, the Sisters chose to go West, with as little regard for diocesan authorities as if they had been subject to the orders of a foreign Superior.*

* Doubtless Bishop Whittingham would have stated other objections to the communities of men and women who have come to us from England, but yet his insuperable objection was that they are under a foreign head. As professor he taught that papal power was established through the aid of monastic orders independent of the bishops. Toward the end of life, speaking of the only community of men whose influence has been felt among us, that of the Cowley Fathers, he exclaimed, "Brand, there is no telling what might have been the religious state of Europe at this day, had it not been for the monasteries!" Not long after, this was repeated to the Superior of the Evangelists, when he broke out in great glee. "No! there is no telling what it might have been." Although not pertinent, it may be added that for Father Benson personally the bishop entertained great respect. "I have read," he once said, "all that Mr. Benson has published, and have seen nothing to object to."

The Home is now under the direction of an efficient Baltimore lady, who with executive ability combines that tender love for Christ's suffering ones which alone moved her to accept the burden, and without which no ability could fit any one for such work.

In the journal of the Convention of 1858 it may be seen that the bishop gave notice that there would be an administration of Holy Communion every day during the session. But to celebrate daily had been his custom almost from the beginning. In the church in which the meetings were held, at six he had morning prayer, at eight Holy Communion, while at nine Convention met. He would have preferred that this his service should have been that of the represented diocese, but so frequent celebration was in advance of common sentiment, and even by those who gladly met their father to partake of the daily bread, the rule of fasting communion was not yet received; their habit was in conformity with what we have seen, in a former chapter, to have been the act of Mr. Keble and the bishop when the latter was leaving Liverpool.

During this Convention of 1858 was taken the first step leading to what was not reached until 1868—the division of the diocese. The proposal came from members from the Eastern Shore. Their memorial was fully discussed and various propositions were made in order to avoid violating the wishes of those supposed to be chiefly interested, residents on the Eastern Shore, whose wishes, it was claimed, the memorial expressed, and great care was taken that all who could be construed to be entitled to a seat should have their right acknowledged. Finally, by a vote of ninety to fifty-one, the whole question was referred to a committee of nine, with instructions to ascertain the views of all the clergy and all the parishes of the diocese, and if it should be found that the majority desired division, then further to report as to the best lines of a division. This committee very faithfully discharged their duty, and at the following

Convention Dr. Kerfoot presented their report, accompanied by a map showing more than one proposed line of division. On the first question, Shall we divide? the vote of the clergy was sixty-eight in the affirmative to twenty-eight in the negative. The laity confirmed this vote by a majority of one, and it was so announced by the chair. But this vote being reconsidered because of some supposed error, after long contest two other votes were counted and the majority was reversed, forty-two voting in the negative and forty-one in the affirmative; the resolution to divide was thus lost through non-concurrence. By a bare majority so important a measure should not have been enforced, and, as subsequent events proved, it was well that the diocese was not then divided.

The bishop made no official effort to advance the wishes of those who advocated division; but his judgment was well known, and the letter written by him at the time when first a division of an existing diocese was contemplated, was with his permission republished in order to influence the opinions of those whose duty it was to decide on the important matter. The bishop also, in other publications, again earnestly set forth the advantages of small dioceses.

That the diocese had so increased as to render episcopal labors, even as ordinarily undergone, too great to be borne by one man, was increasingly evident from the yearly reports. This year, 1859, the bishop said:

> Never before have such unvaryingly large assemblages greeted me in my round of episcopal duty, in all parts of the diocese. Never before have so many new points presented themselves, as it were, clamorously bidding for election as centres of enlarging operations. Within the year I have had the gratification of holding services in no less than seven places where the foot of a bishop had never before trodden, and in each . . . with circumstances of encouragement such as would have warranted immediate arrangement for continuous services. Repeated inquiries in all directions have satisfied me that there is hardly a five-mile square in any section of the State in which a congregation for worship in our services might not be gath-

ered at any suitable time by due notice of the attendance of a minister to officiate.

And, after the recital of unusual amount of successful work done in the counties, he said:

Increased attention to the counties, imperiously demanded by their needs, and not rendered half to my own satisfaction, has greatly diminished my ability to bestow due time and care on the interests of the city. They would of themselves suffice to occupy and recompense the employment of all the abilities of any man.

The good will of the Convention toward their diocesan was shown at this time by a unanimous vote giving him an increase of salary. But hard times were coming on, through the great uncertainty as to the political state of the country; many of the clergy were reduced to great straits, and the bishop would not consent to touch what had been thus given him. After several years the nominal salary was made to agree with what he would receive.

In 1859 the General Convention met in Richmond. During its session occurred a marked event in the history of the country. John Brown seized the armory at Harper's Ferry. The bishop's letters refer to the impression made by this attempt to stir up servile insurrection, and to the evident tokens, as it seemed to him, of the sense of insecurity in which Virginia slave-holders lived.

There occurred also what is remarkable in the history of the Church. Three bishops were consecrated on the same day, in as many churches, because no one building in Richmond could hold the crowds that wished to be present. But for the manner in which the proposal was received by the clerical and lay deputies, there would have been a scene still more memorable; for the Bishop of Virginia, who was for the time presiding, had gone so far as to obtain from the Governor permission to hold the services in the capitol grounds, that is, in the open air.

An incident too is to be noted as affecting our bishop.

As has been said, when speaking of matters connected with his trial, at this Convention was made the last effort in behalf of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk. The Bishop of Maryland had been exceedingly indignant at the manner in which it had been proposed to set aside unnoticed the memorial of the suspended bishop, and had expressed his feelings in words not to be forgotten by those to whom they had been applied. At a later period, when the prayer for restoration came to be considered, he was moved by, what seemed to him, the unworthy motives that influenced the judges of his friend. He so expressed himself that, from an interrupted sentence, he was adjudged to have violated parliamentary propriety and was silenced. His own account of what passed is:

Md. rose to speak. Began with saying he deeply regretted to hear the resolution. "He felt deeply on the subject, because he regarded the resolution as presenting this House, before God and man, as regarding neither justice nor mercy in the treatment of a suffering brother, patiently enduring inflicted penalty, and asking remission." After uttering the word "mercy" was called to order by Ohio, La., Ga., and others, and by the presiding bishop, before having time to complete his sentence by adding, "but governing itself simply and solely by considerations of expedience." Md. took his seat, calling the House to witness that he had been silenced.

Much discussion ensued, and the words having been reduced to writing, Asst. Con. moved, W. New York seconded, an appeal from the chair, which Md. declined to take, and on such appeal seventeen sustained the chair and fourteen did not.

The address to the next Convention (1860) was the outpouring of a thankful heart. After having spoken of "the unanimity which had marked the late General Convention in the transaction of business of the most delicate character and extreme importance," the bishop exclaims:

May we not fervently hope? ought we not diligently to pray? that no reaction of human weakness may ever avail to present us before

God and the world as a less heartily united household than we then found ourselves.

The words, as read now, seem like the forewarning of a prophet! But as yet all was peaceful within his own charge.

The marked prosperity which had given cause for rejoicing the year before was an occasion for renewed congratulation.

The institution of the warden of the Church Home and Infirmary, too, on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, marked the attainment of a ripeness in that work which it would have seemed madness to have dared to hope for only three years before. Free from debt and fully provided for the work in willing labor of devoted hearts, that household of Christ received in the solemn committal of it to a duly authorized spiritual head its last wanting organization. Complete within itself, it now leaves the association of Christian women, continually growing under her * whom we trust a higher inspiration has prompted to spend and be spent in its establishment, at liberty to devise and execute others among the many works of mercy, to which God has given them the will to consecrate themselves, . . . care of the out-door sick and poor, the nurture of the little ones for Christ, and the hard, but glorious task of reclaiming the outcast, and binding up the wounds of the despised and neglected broken-hearted.

Our great undertaking in behalf of the Diocesan College has made slow but steady progress. . . . The laying of the corner-stone, on the day marked in the English calendar with the name of the British Bishop and Missionary Machutus (otherwise called Maclou), Tuesday November 15th, will be memorable. . . . Psalmody, prayer, and appropriate addresses expressed and enlivened the common interest. The remarkable coincidence of a brilliant meteor seemed to set a strangely solemn seal on the celebration. All felt that it was good to be there, and none present doubted that good would come of it sooner or later, in its season, large in quantity, lasting in duration, and prolific in results, outweighing and outlasting all things merely secular in character. . . .

You will, I think, Brethren, have gathered from my statements in detail that the condition of the diocese appears to me, on the

* Mrs. Tyler, First Deaconness.

whole, to afford us just cause for encouragement: certainly at no time do I remember to have observed so generally a disposition to receive at our hands that which God has entrusted to our stewardship.

I have drawn from the published journals the foregoing statement of what was reported to, and done in Convention, in order that from more than my assertion it may be seen how strong, how blessed was the position of Bishop Whittingham in his diocese at the close of the second decade of his episcopate. His Church was peaceful, united, and increasing, if not commensuratively with what he saw might be, yet in such a measure as to call for gratitude and impart hopeful courage. Party efforts had not ceased, for the Evangelical Knowledge Society had established itself in the diocese, an invasion looked upon by him almost as a schismatic effort, but party action had ceased in Convention. His personal relations with some who had been opponents, and who still remained among his clergy, were most pleasant; while letters from some who had removed, perhaps to escape, show an utter change of feeling, and express loving regard and confidence, and regret for the past.

Schools in which Church teaching was secured, and which were, more or less, under Episcopal influence, had been multiplied, and especially the Church College seemed about to realize more than had been hoped for.

In the city, charitable institutions had been founded and were promising.

Moreover a religious press gave good aid to good churchmanship. Besides the influential monthly, *The True Catholic*, conducted by his intimate friend and counsellor, Dr. Evans, the bishop had a book press, which, while wholly the personal property of another, was at his free disposal; Mr. Joseph Robinson was ready to meet his wishes with regard to any publication.

And in addition to the support given by the diocese, in Convention and out of it, by the high esteem and affection-

ate regard of clergy and people, the bishop was strengthened by close relations with some of the leading men in the State, men, alas! who, to the great loss of the Church, have passed away with him. In the midst of widespread political anxieties and consequent depression, the year before the war saw the Diocese of Maryland prosperous and honored; her head, under Christ, abundant in good works and seemingly firmly fixed in the affection of his people.

When he was taken away in 1879, and our hearts were yet sore under the first sense of bereavement, it was said, "We now hear expressions of high respect and admiration, but had he fallen in the noon-day of life, there would have been as general an outburst of grief for personal loss." Even so.

The good fortunes of Bishop Whittingham, as men look upon prosperity, culminated when he had half finished his course as bishop. God had in store for him some better things than the continuance of human favor.

LETTERS.

TO THE REV. D. H. BUEL.

RECONFIRMATION OF PAPISTS.

MARCH 29, 1848.

. . . I advise the confirmation of converts from Romanism :

1, On the ground that the Catholic Church has always received persons from schismatical and heretical communions with imposition of hands—by which, as you know, the fathers considered the grace of charity—the peculiar gift of the Holy Ghost, and fruit of His personal indwelling to be imparted. This ground would warrant our rite in any case—how valid soever any previous administration of unction or laying on of hands might be considered for the purposes for which it might have been performed, whether the completion of baptism in confirmation or any other.

But, 2, the administration of confirmation in the Roman Communion is so altered from its original and Scriptural form, as to leave it altogether doubtful whether it is the Apostolic laying on of hands, and the mere doubt warrants the administration *de novo* of an ordinance which the whole Church regards as one involving no sacrilege or profanation in its repetition, were it a repetition.

And, 3, there can be no scruple of conscience on the subject on the part of one who has been confirmed under the Roman obedience, inasmuch as what was done there is not repeated—the unction having no place in our rite and our laying on of hands and sponsion being both additional—therefore, supplementary (as well as suppletary) and completory. So, whatever (if anything) was valid in the Romish administration, and most obviously appropriate to the circumstances of the person who on conviction of the sinfulness of a schismatical position, seeks admission to the bosom of the Church, and in this rite makes profession of his desire to become a par-

taker of the gifts of the Spirit as enjoyed in her, and receives the pledge of reconciliation and recognition as a member of the true household of the faithful.

TO THE REV. O. S. P.

A CLERGYMAN ACCUSED SHOULD STAND HIS GROUND.

BALTIMORE, April 21, 1855.

MY DEAR P.:

Your letter of Saturday is a strange riddle to me.

I have learned nothing of any rumors affecting your character or conduct. If I had, I should not have waited to have the subject first broached by you.

If such rumors do exist, the way to deal with them is not to run away from them, nor to shrink from meeting those who may be affected by them, but to meet them like a man.

Ignorant as I am, alike of their existence (except as informed by you) and of their nature, I should be untrue to my official duty and to my friendship for you, to concede anything to what seems to me a morbid and misdirected sensibility.

If rumors do exist, they must either have a foundation or not.

If there be any foundation, let it be sought out, thoroughly searched into, and explained.

If there be none, let that fact be established, and your good name and that of the diocese vindicated.

This you owe to yourself, to the Church you serve, and to me, and it is a debt that ought to be discharged before talking of removal from this diocese any whither.

As for the discipline of false tongues, it is not to be escaped from by change of place, and so long as God sees it to be best for you that it should be endured, it ought to be received with filial submission and hearty endeavor to obtain from it the intended fruit of blessing—part of which, doubtless, is a patient, humble, chastised temper, and such intimacy of communion with God as shall enable you to say, and feel—"I will not regard what man can do unto me; the Lord is with me, and who shall make me afraid?"

Faithfully and affectionately your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

TO REV. W. J. KIP, D.D., ALBANY.

ADVISES CONFIRMATION OF RECONCILED ROMAN CATHOLICS.

BALTIMORE, February 15, 1851.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:

. . . I do advise—but not insist on—confirmation of persons returning to the Church from the Romish communion. I do not insist on it, because the Church has not so defined confirmation as to exclude the Roman rite, and her requisition may therefore be held to be complied with, as a term of communion, by the past reception of that rite. Then as regards its use. I can no more affirm than I can define where the Church is silent, and those who choose to take the risk of deciding that the Roman rite is their sufficient assurance of grace must abide by it. But I advise it: 1. Because the Roman administration of this "sacramen*tal*" is defective as regards the outward sign; it does not comprise "laying on of hands" in the apostolic and primitive sense of the term and practice. It is then doubtful, to say the least, whether the Romish rite is the Catholic and true ordinance. 2. Then, being doubtful, the ordinance ought to be received after a true and indisputable mode; the rather, because being not a sacrament, its repetition (if the second reception should be a repetition) would involve no sacrilege. The "laying on of hands," as the practice of antiquity abundantly proves to us, has never been held to be of necessity like baptism, of only one administration. 3. On this view of the repeatableness (so to speak) of the solemn laying on of hands, for divers ends at divers times, it ought unquestionably, in conformity with the whole practice of the primitive Church, to be administered and received upon the reunion to the Church of one who has suffered by the seductions of the virtually heretical and formally schismatical Roman communion. As a means of grace, how far confirmation could avail for the higher gift of the Spirit in that communion, may well be doubted. But admitting that, the bar removed by renunciation of the communion, the gift might become efficient—the second use of the rite would still remain unsupplied, the returned member of the Church would need the solemn public recognition to make the profession, which could not be made in the former heretical and schismatical connection, and claim the reception which there was there no authority to give. As regards both characters and uses of the rite, then, considering the mode and circumstances of its administration in the Romish

communion, I think its reception by persons leaving that communion for the Church proper and desirable.

TO THE REV. F. VINTON, D.D.

SHOULD ONE WHO HAS BEEN CONDITIONALLY BAPTIZED BE CONFIRMED AGAIN?

BALTIMORE, February 15, 1851.

MY DEAR DR.:

. . . My opinion concerning the case you propose is, that a person who has been confirmed, in the persuasion that he had been duly baptized, and afterward, finding reason to give up that persuasion, is baptized (whether hypothetically or not, as I suppose, makes no difference with relation to the point in question), does *not* need repetition of confirmation.

Confirmation, in our branch of the Church, has a twofold character and use. 1st, It is the complement of baptism—that which fully, entirely, and solemnly seals the baptism of priests and deacons as the one baptism instituted by Christ and administered in his name. 2dly, It is the solemn, public recognition of Church membership—profession on the part of the candidate, reception on that of the Church. In both of these characters and uses, as it seems to me, the question of position relative to the sacrament—before or after—is one of seemliness and order only, not of essential operative coefficiency. The complement ought to follow, but having preceded, none the less completes the whole, when that of which it is the "complement" has once been duly received. The "recognition"—profession and reception—duly belongs only to the baptized member of the body, but having been made (on a real *bona fide* persuasion at the time that it was so grounded) is none the less true, full, and for its purposes and ends sufficient, because of a defectiveness in the ground then unknown, and as soon as known supplied.

As a means of grace I suppose the laying on of hands to be controlled by two laws which, I firmly believe, govern all Divine dispensations of spiritual blessing.

1. To the honest receiver, *bona fide* receiving according to the full measure of knowledge, and with a reasonable presumption of entire compliance with revealed requisitions (the law of God in the Church) that which is received is made to be what it is received as being.

2. With God there is no dealing in time—before or after. The limitation of time and sequence is in us, not in him. Therefore what he gives, he is ever giving: if at the time when we offer for its

reception, there is a bar, and that bar, in what to us is subsequent time, is taken away, the gift of God becomes operative and effectual in what to us is time posterior to what, to us, is its proper antecedent, as if the offer for reception on our part had been in (what to us only—as regards our mode of being only—is) the proper order of sequence.

On these grounds I answer that, in my judgment, there need be no second reception of confirmation on account of defective baptism—at the first subsequently remedied by due reception of the sacrament. And that the mode of receiving baptism—whether positively or hypothetically—makes no difference at all in the question, as it really makes no difference in the nature or effect of administration. Baptism administered in a doubtful case is either baptism or *not*. If it is, the hypothetical mode of administering it has made it nothing less. If it is not, the positive administration can make it nothing more. The hypothetical mode is adopted merely as a protest against the construction of the administration in a doubtful case as a repetition of the sacrament in any contingency.

W. R. W.

FROM A LETTER TO THE REV. JOHN R. KEECH.

SHOULD THE FIRST QUESTIONS IN THE CATECHISM BE ADDRESSED TO UNBAPTIZED CHILDREN?

BALTIMORE, December, 1851.

. . . The question you present, about the use of the opening question in the Catechism, has come before me already in several forms.

If the reference is to children who have never received any ordinance purporting to be Baptism—those of Quakers, Anabaptist, or negligent and ungodly parents—I think they ought to be taught that the answers do not belong to them, and that they learn them merely that they may know what benefits they have to desire, strive after, and yet to receive. Often I have known this course to result in their reception to the blessings of which they had previously been deprived—and sometimes in the awakening and renewing of their parents too.

But if the reference is to children of non-episcopalians, who have received a form of baptism, but not that duly authorized by a regular ministerial commission—I think that as servants of the Church, Sunday School teachers and Catechists have no right to moot the question of their baptism, about which the Church has given no de-

cision; and that it is not expedient to do it, until they come of age to make and take upon themselves their own vows. It is very right to teach them (as is done in the Catechism I lately published) the general truths concerning the authority by which the sacraments are ministered and the necessity of a true commission in the minister to give them validity; but not to apply those truths to the individuals by saying, You have received an invalid sacrament. That, I suppose, neither minister nor layman has a right to do, the Church having refused to do it, and neither bishop nor priest having any right to refuse confirmation or communion on account of non-episcopal baptism.

You know well the strength of my own convictions on the subject; but until the Church authoritatively takes up and determines the question I conceive myself to be wholly devoid of right to do it as her minister. Now, in catechizing, whoever does it, whether minister or Sunday School teacher, surely does it in behalf of the Church, and is therefore bound to keep within the line of her authority.

Such, dear Sir, is my opinion in the case. Take it for what it is worth. . . .

TO THE REV. W. A.

A PRIEST MAY CONSIDER LAWFUL HINDRANCES TO MARRIAGE—THE CHURCH'S BLESSING CONDITIONAL.

BALTIMORE, January 31, 1854.

MY DEAR A.:

. . . I do not consider the question of the guilt or innocence of the anticipated bridegroom as within your cognizance if called on to marry him. It would be a serious point, were you consulted by the bride, for advice whether to accept him, or not. But her acceptance having been plighted—as I suppose it has, by your statement—your question, as concerning the marriage rite, is only whether there be any impediment to marriage on the part of either? Put the case that he were an avowed infidel? Would not that be as much of an impediment as his being an avowed man slayer?

Surely it would equally render the marriage blessing nugatory in his case! Yet universal usage (in the existing condition of Church discipline), even in the Roman Obedience, would allow the marriage Rite (under dispensation, in the Roman Obedience) in that case.

In fact, the Blessing in the Marriage Ceremony (as in all other rites administered to mixed recipients) is designed only to avail ac-

cording to the capability of the parties—to both, if fit—to the one only, if but one be fit and desirous—to neither, if both be unworthy. It is a Blessing proffered, to be received or not, as faith and desire exist, or not. . . . .

TO THE REV. C. M. B., D.D.,

SPIRITUALISTS.

BALTIMORE, April 27, 1854.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

You ask "What shall be done with a communicant who, having been warned of the sin and danger of acting as a medium (*i.e.* of the pretended communication with the spirits of the dead of the so-called 'spirit-rappers'), still persists in the practice?" . . .

While I have no doubt that the pretended communications are a medley of delusion and imposture, I suppose that for judicial treatment it would be wiser and safer to waive the question of truth or imposture, and assume the pretensions made as the ground of action.

The pretence is to the practice of necromancy—which is expressly forbidden as a sin abominable to God. Deut. xviii. 11.

The tenor of that passage clearly proves it to belong not to the abrogated ceremonial law, but to that moral law which the Gospel only enforces and fulfils. It is, therefore, still binding as a divine precept.

As such, the breach of it is a triable offence by Canon XXII., and the mode of dealing with a person guilty of it such as is provided in that and the following Canon.

While it is to be regretted that deep delusion should betray one of the flock into the belief of the reality of these pretended communications, the victim has no just ground of complaint if punished on the assumption of their truth. The divine prohibition of necromancy does not affirm the reality of its pretensions, nor rest in any way on the nature of the pretended communication from the dead. If there be such communications, they are forbidden us, be they what they may, or from whomsoever. The reasons are known to Him who has promulgated the law. If the pretensions to them are mere delusion or imposture, it is to the pretension itself that the prohibition applies in the first place. . . .

Faithfully and truly your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

TO D. M. H., Esq.

A CHRISTIAN BOUND BY HIGHER OBLIGATIONS TO OBSERVE EVERY MORAL PRECEPT GIVEN TO THE JEW.

Baltimore, September 17, 1855.

My Dear Sir:

. . . With regard to the "binding obligation" of the Levitical Law upon Christians—it is not direct; but, as our Saviour has shown in the case of divorce, by the operation of its principle, received, in the inward law of the spirit, into the heart. Whatsoever was impure under Mosaic Law (not ceremonially, but morally) is much more so under the unwritten Law of the Spirit of Christ.

Very faithfully and truly your friend and servant,

W. R. W.

TO THE REV. WM. J. CLARK.

NIGHT CELEBRATIONS OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

Baltimore, December 5, 1855.

Rev. and Dear Brother:

. . . I cannot recommend the celebration of the Holy Communion at night in connection with the services of the Convocation. Although nocturnal celebration of the Communion is not absolutely forbidden, I consider the mind of the Church to be declared as against it by the opening rubric of the Order for its administration, and by the all but universal usage.

In one case of special urgency (that of a congregation of colored people, who cannot get out in the morning), and in but one, I have consented to a post-meridian celebration; and hear with regret of any case in which supposed necessity or expediency leads to what seems to me to be an infraction of the general order of the Church, an order beneath which, perhaps, there lie great principles with which prudence requires that we should not meddle, except after the most mature deliberation and wise poising of contrarient consideration.

In the suggested case, I do not see the urgency which, in my judgment, would warrant a departure from established usage.

Very earnestly desiring and praying that your projected measures may be blessed with full efficiency for the ends in view,

I am faithfully and affectionately your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

FROM A LETTER TO THE REV. WILLIAM J. CLARK, 1855.

CONSECRATION IS AN INALIENABLE GIFT TO GOD—PRIVATE LOTS IN CEMETERIES NOT TO BE BLESSED.

. . . I am sorry to find myself unable to gratify Mrs. —— in the very reasonable and pious desire for a consecration of a private lot in a cemetery.

Consecration implies an irrevocable inalienability which, so far as I am informed, cannot be guaranteed to any mere share in a joint stock property—for such only can a public cemetery be, as known to the laws and authorities of the country. A degree of absolute separation, too, is implied in consecration, which the owner of a lot in a public cemetery cannot obtain (certainly cannot secure) for such possession.

Besides, consecration of burying grounds being a diocesan usage almost peculiar to Maryland, I feel bound to be particularly careful not to affect it by any departure from precedent, and cautious in abstaining from any the least innovation.

When requested by a parish or incorporated congregation, and enabled by sufficient deeds, to set apart forever for the interment and repose of the dead, a piece of ground owned by the parish or church and formally devoted as a burial ground, both the immemorial usage of the English Church, and the well-established precedent in this diocese, are my warrant for proceeding to consecrate. I have neither in the case of a private lot in a cemetery. Mrs. D——'s is the second application within the week to which I have been compelled to give this answer. . . .

FROM A LETTER TO THE REV. J. B. COLHOUN.

THE ENGLISH "TABLE OF DEGREES" RESTS ON THE CONSCIENCE, YET CANNOT BE ENFORCED.

JANUARY 23, 1856.

. . . I have no objection to say anywhere what I would do, as governed by my own judgment and conscience, in such a case.

But I conceive, nevertheless, that the case is not one in which I can interpose my authority to back you or bear you out. It is not ruled by the Church; and I do not conceive that I have the right to make the rule for my diocese.

When I say it is "not ruled by the Church," I mean that there is such a difference of opinion in the Church as to whether the rule by which I feel bound holds obligatory, as to forbid the assumption of that rule by me as a law for others.

The rule by which I feel bound is the English canon—which, for reasons set forth in part by Judge Hoffman, in his Treatise on the Law of the Church, I regard as unrepealed law of this Church, wherever it can apply, and has not by express action of this branch of the Church been rescinded or suspended.

No action of the American Church has rescinded or suspended the English canon as the law of marriage. On the contrary, the House of Bishops, by express resolve, . . . declared the English table to be, in their judgment, "now obligatory on this Church and what will remain so, unless there should appear cause to alter it" (Church Laws 183), and no such alteration has ever been made.

That declaration, and the canon to which it refers, bind me, as I deem them "*foro conscientiæ*" to have binding force.

You will form your own judgment on that point. If it is the same as mine, your course is clear. You are sheltered by express law from any odium or obloquy which might attach to judgment made on a particular case, or its merits. Whether right or not, the Church has spoken, and you, her minister, hearing and recognizing her voice, have naught to do but obey.

But that canon is not so declared as to bind the laity. Your decision, therefore, would only affect your own acts. You would refuse to marry, but would not have to refuse communion afterward. On that point there is no doubt. At the last discussion of this matter in the House of Bishops it was made express ground of action. Some (I among the number) refused to legislate further, unless consistently, enforcing the rule on the laity as well as the clergy; and a majority refused to do that. There is no excommunication or censure then of the parties. The action is merely negative on the part of the minister.

I have no scruple about saying, for my part, that I do think the kind of marriage in question contrary to God's law and to the "natural reason and fitness of things," and therefore forbidden by the Church. But that is mere opinion, to be received or not by you, as a man, according as you may find ground for it or not, but in no wise affecting your duty as a minister.

If the Church allows the marriage, you may still refuse to perform it, on grounds of your own—for there can be no compulsion; but you must be prepared to defend your refusal in case of accusation

for wilful and ungrounded non-performance of ministerial duty. But if the Church disallows the marriage, there is no occasion to bring forward your own opinion in the case. The disallowance is your ground of action, and your sufficient reason. Here again, were a charge brought against you, it would be for you to show that there is such disallowance.

It is for you now to judge whether the English Canon, with the declaration of the House of Bishops, constitutes such disallowance, in a form stringent enough to make the ground of action and plea in defence in case of consequent accusation.

I say for myself it does.

You must judge for yourself, and act accordingly.

In great haste, but faithfully and affectionately your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

REV. D. S. MILLER, COM. EDUCATION, P. E. CHURCH, PA.

ON THE SUPPORT OF CANDIDATES FOR ORDERS.

BALTIMORE, September 24, 1856.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

There is no "organization for the support of young men preparing for the ministry" in my diocese. I have not yet become sensible of any considerable disadvantage in this want. The number of candidates has been as nearly uniform as might be expected—varying, in sixteen years, from fourteen to twenty.

I have found men most efficient in the ministry (as the rule) who have been most under compulsion to exert themselves in preparing for it. I have not found those who had been prepared for the ministry by the assistance of "organizations for their support" to have realized (as the rule) the expectations entertained of them. I have made use, principally, of opportunities by which candidates for Holy Orders can, even from an early period of their studies, maintain themselves and reserve a portion of time for study—such as the Diocesan College and Schools, and other schools and academies, and tutorships afford.

We have a *diocesan* organization for the whole work of "Church extension," recognizing "education" in all its forms as one of the branches of that work, and leaving it, as such, in the hands of a committee annually chosen for the purpose by the Diocesan Convention. That committee is competent, at any time to take such measures as may be found necessary or deemed expedient, in order to the

education of youth for the Holy Ministry. I have not yet felt the need of calling on it to move in the premises.

You are doubtless aware of the very grave objections to the Romish "Seminary" system. Those objections seem to me to attach still more forcibly to any extension of that system into Protestant bodies, and more or less "organizations for the support of young men preparing for the ministry" necessarily run into that system.

Very respectfully your friend and servt., W. R. W.

TO THE REV. DR. CUMMINS.

A SURRENDER OF THE PROPERTY TO GOD NECESSARY TO THE CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH.

BALTIMORE, April 15, 1858.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:

. . . The deed of donation is requisite to enable me so to act. I can make no disposal of the freehold of the Vestry, except as empowered by them so to do. I merely require from them powers, in the deed, as full as in the solemnity itself I am required in the awful presence of God Himself to profess to exercise.

It is, undoubtedly, true that the instrument in its fullest form does not, in the eye of the law, affect the right and title of the Vestry. But it would morally, and as a rule of action for religious men; and it is that kind of coercion and restraint, alone, to which the Church can have recourse in the regulation of her internal affairs.

I seek for my warrant to do what you ask me to do in virtue of my office, a solemn obligation, of *moral* force, by which those who alone have the right and power to bind the property, do secure it perpetually ("through all generations" is the language of the prayer) for the purposes to which, with all the real solemnity and force of an oath, I am expected to devote it. In my judgment it would be mocking God to do less, or be satisfied with less. . . .

Very faithfully, etc., W. R. W.

TO B. B. GRISWOLD, ESQ.

CERTAIN DETAILS OF RITUAL, AND WHAT IS THE AMERICAN RULE.

277 MADISON ST., September 23, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your Western correspondent does me too much honor in supposing me to be accurately well informed, or particularly careful on the matters concerning which he is interested. I am a "liberalist" on

details of *mere* ritual; and only watchful to hinder *violations* of actual rules, or *plain departures* from the spirit of Catholic usages.

If the proposed fixtures are to be *used for giving light*, I should not be careful to inquire either *where* or *what* they were.

If, on the contrary, their real end is symbolism, I should, while—as a matter of personal judgment—disapproving of them as inexpedient and of doubtful conformity with the mind of the *American* Church—yet take no official notice of them, unless they took such a form as to thrust themselves on the attention *as a part of ritual: e.g.*, in the shape of candlesticks (whether with or without candles) in a prominent place on the altar as *part of its furniture*. In the Church of England, I think strict construction of rubric requires the *presence* of such candlesticks: in *ours*, for that very reason, their *absence*. Of course, the objection applies more strongly to lighted candles in day (or service) time; which I should positively interfere to forbid—while not in the least disapproving of the thing in my own judgment as either superstitious or silly—as contrary to both intention and law of the American Church.

I think zealous churchmen in America are often forgetful of the fact that our allegiance to the Catholic Church *is* and *can be only* through *one branch* of the Church—which *branch* and *no other* we are bound filially to love and obey, not in the letter only of its laws, but in the indications of their spirit and mind. A child may see amiabilities and desirableness in the mother of another—say of his cousin, the child of his mother's sister—but is surely not, on that account, released from duty to his mother—or allowed to set her commands and wishes aside for those of his more amiable aunt—so in such questions of ritual. We American churchmen are not concerned with the English candlestick question. Our mother has set that aside for us by ignoring it. If we have the mind of Christ's children, whose mother is his Holy Church, we shall hold ourselves bound by our mother's course, and ignore it too. In that case, the question of lights *on the altar* is settled for us—we know nothing about them. The question concerning lights *near*, above or behind the altar becomes one of fitness and reverence—to be dealt with, with no reference to symbolism or rubrics, but as we would with one concerning bookstands or cushions, or other "instrumenta ecclesiastica."

Faithfully yours, W. R. W.

REV. C. M. P.

AN ALTAR-STONE.

BALTIMORE, January 15, 1859.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I cannot say that I am heartily pleased with your "altar-stone," although I thoroughly appreciate the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the advancement of the beauty of holiness in the Lord's house and worship in which it has been made. You certainly have the example of a Presbyter profoundly learned and sound in orthodoxy as Dr. H. M. Mason to sanction the use of such a "stone."

Nevertheless, I own it does not commend itself entirely to my judgment, because I believe it to be, not only without sanction in the practice of the early Church, but even contrary to that practice in which the material of the altar of the unbloody sacrifice was regarded and treated as a matter of *perfect* indifference. The Church of St. Augustine used *wooden* altars as well as stone. The *preference* of stone, for Christian worship, I consider as having come into the West (I believe it never has found admission in the East) after the eighth century, with many other mediævalisms, which, really and truly, originated in a spurious gymnobiblism, working out as the product of erring and insufficiently restrained private judgment. . . .

Your loving friend, W. R. W.

The bishop often consecrated churches having stone altars, and without a word of disapproval.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO THE REV. GRIFFITH OWEN.

DECLINES AN INVITATION TO ATTEND A MEETING OF THE MINISTERS OF ALL THE EVANGELICAL DENOMINATIONS.

MARCH 12, 1859.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

I have twice been honored with notes bearing your signature inviting me to attend at different places an assemblage called "The Ministers' Prayer-Meeting."

The name indicates a purpose to engage in joint prayer.

It would be worse than folly to make a show before men of a ser-

vice not offered to the Searcher of hearts with the testimony of conscience in simplicity and godly sincerity. It would be to mock God to approach Him in dissembling or double-minded wavering.

Such sin I should be in danger of incurring by the acceptance of your invitation in my present ignorance.

You invite me to a meeting of "ministers."

I am ignorant what is the authority, recognized by all, to which the constituents of the meeting are to appeal as the ground of their discrimination from other brethren of the Christian name, not "ministers."

A "blessing upon labors on the Sabbath" is to be asked for.

I am ignorant of the warrant entitling me to ask for such blessing, without previous assurance that the "labors" upon which it is implored are undertaken in accordance with the revealed will of God and the established ordinance of Christ.

It is said that "Brethren of all the evangelical denominations are to be there."

I am ignorant of the special meaning of the designation "evangelical denominations," and of the right by which it is assumed for certain classes of Christians to the exclusion and apparent disparagement of others. Without clear evidence of Divine sanction for such separation, I should fear that by entering an association constituted under such distinctive claims, I might be incurring the danger of displeasing God by bidding others to stand by, for myself and my associates are holier than they.

The danger of prayer without faith, and the still greater danger of offering the sacrifice of divided discordant worship, would hinder me from joining such a meeting as that to which I am honored with an invitation, until my ignorance should have been relieved by the unanimous agreement of those who are to constitute the meeting in sufficient resolution of the suggested questions.

It is my happiness to find official duty combining with private inclination in the prayer for which the members of the Church in which I minister are invited twice every day in the year to public worship, that "all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." I shall not fail, in offering it, more especially to remember those whose kindness has led them to include my name within the line of demarcation by which their list of invitation is necessarily circumscribed.

REV. DR. KERFOOT.

REFLECTION ON THE DEATH OF THOSE ON WHOM HE HAS LEANED.

UPPER BROAD CREEK VALLEY, May 5, 1859.

DEAR KERFOOT:

. . . The fortnight past has been one of sore visitation, and leaves me in much grief and uneasiness. The death of two clergymen of my diocese, on successive days, is no light blow. That of Dr. Johns, owing to the peculiar relations into which circumstances have so often brought us, cannot but make a deeper impression than anything in the ordinary course of events, giving occasion for much solemn self-examination and review. Followed so speedily as it has been by the call of one with whom I have been so differently and still more intimately associated for as long a time—my brother, in so many senses, of New Jersey—it sounds to me a long, loud note of warning to be also ready. I need not attempt to say to you how many and how very various considerations crowd on my mind in the retrospect of the intimacy which it has been my privilege to enjoy with Bishop Doane for three and thirty years. The knowledge that no recourse can now be had to his vigorous mind and warm, gushing heart for counsel and sympathy in the many and miserable cares of office greatly increases my growing sense of loneliness in the world. Those whose love and approbation I have been valuing from youth up are fast going from me. [Illegible] as I have leaned on human stays, time has nearly done its work of cutting all away. The sense of becoming myself, in some degree, the substitute to others for those who have been removed from them and me, would crush me with its weight if allowed to settle on me. But it must and shall be thrown off. There is ONE only on whom we all depend and who is all-sufficient. To lean on Him alone, and direct others to Him alone, is the lesson that I have to learn from these His fatherly visitations. To learn it well would be profit enough amply to compensate for the anguish which, in the meanwhile, these visitations cannot but occasion me.

Aff't'ly, W. R. W.

TO MRS. WHITTINGHAM.

THE LAST EFFORT IN BEHALF OF BISHOP B. T. ONDERDONK.

RICHMOND, October 20, 1859.

DEAR HANNAH:

The poor old bishop has lost his cause—fatally, irrevocably. By a final test-vote of nineteen to eleven all hope of his restoration in

any way, on any terms which it is possible for him to accept (that is, on any except confessing the truth of all charged against him and the justice of all done to him), is utterly cut off. I am sorry to have to own that I was betrayed into more excitement than I could wish, or than was becoming, by what seemed to me the cold-blooded, impudent arrogance of one or two of the foremost in the work of thus keeping the feet of discipline upon the neck of a down-trodden brother, and went further than parliamentary rule permitted in telling them what I thought the truth concerning them. I shall not be loved the better for it, and it gave them an advantage against me for diminishing my influence as a hot-brained, impulsive fellow of intemperate and hasty speech.

Nevertheless, my written opinion has found such favor that, notwithstanding its length, I have been asked to lend it, for being copied, and that by some of our House whom I respect as profoundly as any living, Bishop Cobb, of Alabama, for instance. . . .

W. R. W.

THE REV. C. M. PARKMAN.

A PARISH PRIEST MAY NOT EXCOMMUNICATE.

BALTIMORE, March 21, 1860.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I am afraid you have "certified your congregation" of what you would find it difficult thoroughly to substantiate, when you did so to the effect that A. and A., "having renounced the worship and communion of the Church, are *ipso facto* excommunicated, and not to be restored" but by the bishop.

The old saw about its "taking two to make a bargain" applies to such a case. Desertion of communion, as long as "winked at" by the excommunicating power, is utterly effectless as to changing the relation or responsibility of the delinquent in the eye of the Church and her Divine Head. "*Ipso facto* excommunication" is that which is pronounced by a competent authority on mere proof of the act against which it has been previously denounced. It is held *in foro conscientiæ* to bind the delinquent, *i.e.*, A., doing a thing forbidden under penalty *i. f. exc.* ought not to commune, knowing himself by so doing to have incurred the penalty; but to affect his relations to others it must be "fulminated"—directed—against him by the lawful tribunal empowered to exercise jurisdiction to that effect.

Now the parish priest cannot excommunicate in our Church. Theoretically, by Canon XLII. of 1832, the bishop, in discharge of

the Catholic functions of his office, can, but practically he never does. The presbyter can merely "repel" from communion, and where there has been desertion of it, of course he has lost that power.

All, then, that can be legally done in such a case is to report the parties to the bishop as guilty of desertion, and after six months from the date of their delinquency to strike them from the roll of communicants, after which it lies with the presbyter to settle the terms of their re-admission, should they ever come to a better mind. . . .

Affectionately your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

TO THE RT. REV. H. B. WHIPPLE, D.D.

SWEDES—THEIR ORDERS, AND WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR THEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BALTIMORE, April 27, 1860.

RT. REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:

I have one difficulty, and but one, in the way of answering your letter—you speak of "Swedes and Norwegians," and then of both together as "Scandinavians," as if both those nations had *one* Church or Churches in like position.

That is not so. The Norwegians are *simply* and *merely* Lutherans — with a ministry (and consequently ordinances) having no more pretension to *apostolicity* than our "*Episcopal* Methodists" can make —except that the Normen have about two hundred years more of duration. Their bishops were set aside at the so-called Reformation of their country, and supplied by others set apart by the laying on of hands of John Burgenhagen, a German presbyter. Then, and since then, they have *professedly* received and acted on Luther's congregationalistic and Erastian notions of the ministry and ordinances. But the case of Sweden is very different. Ever since I read of the Reformation of that land in Gerdesius (now almost forty years ago) I have been deeply interested in the Church which was marvellously preserved from shipwreck in that stormy time, and has since been guided on a devious course through many dangers, in vicissitudes and perils greatly resembling those by which its sister church in England has been tried. I have consequently used every opportunity for informing myself concerning the history and real actual position of the Swedish Church.

I find eminent men in England, Scotland, and this country disposed to question, if not deny, the *apostolicity* and *Catholicity* of that Church on two grounds, chiefly: first, an alleged uncertainty of the perpetuation of the apostl. succession in its ministry; second, a too well ascertained indifference to it, as a ground of churchly existence and function.

The last I can allow to be of real consequence only as affecting the other, by making it probable that the apostl. succ. has been broken. Unhappily we have too many in our own communion, both in England and in this country, even in the episcopate, who share the Swedish indifference to be able to say to that Church, "Stand aside! we owe no fellowship!" on *that* ground!

The first, besides the argument from probability just noticed, is argued mainly from the admitted transmission of the succession. At the first abruption from Popery, through a *single* link (by one ordainer) from doubts thrown on the actual possession of the episcopal character, and from times of unrest, turmoil, and hard struggle of Popery (through Jesuit agency) to recover a foothold under King John.

The best examination I have been able to give all these alleged objections has satisfied me of their groundlessness. I think the Swedish Church really in possession of the succession, and though not prizing either it or its consequences and fruits as she ought, yet sufficiently conscious of her advantage to have a pride in holding fast what she has. On this score I see no reason why a bishop of our Church should not regard ministers, people, and ministrations of the *Swedish* Church as on the *same* footing with those of the Churches of England, Scotland, and the British Colonies, and regulate himself with regard to them by the canons, etc., that direct our course in relation to the others.

You know that our learned brother, Dr. H. M. Mason, after giving his whole attention to this matter (he being, by previous qualification as an adept in church history, doctrine of the ministry and polity, and church law, among the fittest among us all to form a sound and ripe judgment in such case) for several years, is fully persuaded of the claims of Sweden to be a sister Church. His opinion and mine are quite independent of each other—there having been almost no communication between us on the subject. They may to some extent, therefore, mutually corroborate each other.

How far one bishop has a right to prejudge this question for all the rest, by committing the whole Church in his action upon his own individual judgment, is a delicate question.

It must be determined, I suppose, in some degree, by the pressure arising in the circumstances of his own diocese.

It may be expedient and practicable to recognize *Swedish* orders and ministrations to a *certain extent* (*e.g.*, as among themselves, and by association of congregations in convention, etc.), without making the recognition full, complete, and final—reserving that for the action of the *whole* Church at some future time, and in advance submitting to that decision when it shall be made.

I have the impression that the Bishops of Wisconsin and Illinois are interested in this question nearly as largely as you. If that be so, would it not be most prudent to come to an understanding with them, if possible, before proceeding to any compromitting step? Both of them, I think, have given some attention to the case. The former, unless I am very much mistaken, has actually sanctioned the use, *by Swedes in the Swedish language*, of the Swedish service. The latter, I understood to say, at the last General Convention, that he was prepared to give letters dimissory to the Church in Sweden or receive them from it.

I think if the last-mentioned step were first taken, and then permission given for the use of the service, on condition that *so soon as* and *whenever* either minister or people should desire to celebrate, or to have an *English* service, then *that* service, whether for one occasion only or for a continuance, should be that of the American Church only —all under reservation of submission as above suggested—it might bring about immediate friendly intercommunion and ultimate absorption of the foreign element. A congregation so recognized might be represented and vote on all matters *not affecting doctrine* or worship. Your loving brother, W. R. W.

TO THE REV. H. H. H.

ON MARRIAGE WITH A DIVORCED WOMAN.

BALTIMORE, October, 1860.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:

If my memory does not very much mislead me, when I was with you lately in your parish, you stated to me your apprehensions concerning a possible connection between one of your parishioners and a lady who, having been married, is now in a divorced condition. I expressed to you, according to my recollection, my clear conviction of the unlawfulness of such a connection and my earnest hope that you

might be spared the trial which it must be to you should your apprehension be verified.

Judge, then, of my surprise when this morning a near relative of the gentleman concerned in the report complained to me that that gentleman had been strengthened in his disposition to make the connection in question by a letter of Bishop Z——, shown or lent to him by you.

I can hardly think that after knowledge of the view of the case entertained by your bishop you would consult another; nor can I imagine that Bishop Z—— would allow his opinion to be obtained or used in such circumstances. I am, therefore, almost led to question the accuracy of my own memory and to suppose that it must have been to some other, and not to you, that I expressed my views in the case. I should be glad to learn that it is so.

But at all events I beg most distinctly to say to you, and through you to your parishioner, that my deliberate conviction is against marriage with a divorced woman, under whatever circumstances. This involves no condemnation of the lady so situated. God forbid! But were she in all respects of angelic excellence, our Saviour's solemn decision (read as the voice of the Church in this very morning's lesson) is that "Whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery." He leaves no exception or limitation. The declaration is universal in its sweep. How can a minister of Christ sanction such a connection, in face of his Master's will, so clearly and positively declared? How can one admitted to the privileges of His household venture upon living in a state so solemnly forbidden?

No doubt, under existing laws, such a connection would be a *legal* marriage, and as such, would neither incur the ban of society, nor, so far as I am aware, bring the parties under any positive censure of the Church.

But it would still be a forbidden and unblessed connection, to which the charity of the Church could be extended no farther than, at the utmost, to ignore it; which a minister of the Church could not sanction by official celebration without exposing himself to ecclesiastical censure by the procedure.

Hoping that you may be disposed and able by your faithful enforcement of our Lord's decision to influence effectually the mind of your parishioner against a measure so inauspicious and fraught with so much danger in itself and so much offence to others, I am, faithfully and affectionately,

Your friend and brother, W. R. W.

TO THE SAME.

IN REPLY TO A LONG ARGUMENT ON DIVORCE.

. . . You allege to me, in answer, divers opinions with which I have nothing to do; a misapprehended action of members of General Convention, and another passage of Scripture, about the interpretation of which there are many doubts and controversies.

But you leave entirely unnoticed the passage on which I based my opinion (I referred you to it, as in the lesson of the day on which I wrote), which passage, in my judgment, utterly precludes the possibility of listening, in the case before us, to the opinions adduced by you, had they been ever so authoritative and relevant.

I will call your attention to only two of the commentators on the words of our Lord on which I rest (Matt. xix., 9, Luke xvi., 18). *Matthew Henry* says, "Christ *will not allow of divorces*, for his Gospel is intended to strike at the bitter root of men's corrupt passions and inclinations, to kill them and pluck them up." On Luke xvi., 18, Canon Wordsworth says: "ἀπολελυμένην—*any* divorced woman generally. An absolute prohibition from Christ himself against marrying any woman that has been divorced. Such marriages are adulterous."

You seem not to have observed, in using Matt. v., 32, that our Lord nowhere at any time recognizes any right of a woman to divorce her husband; nor to have remembered that adultery being punished with death under the Jewish law (so that, as Beza and Wells observe, the case of divorce for actual *adultery* could never legally occur), the word πορνεία should most probably be understood restrictively of ante-nuptial unchastity discovered after marriage.

It seems also to have escaped your notice that both in Matt. xix., 9 and in Luke xvi., 18 our Lord expressly legislates for the *man*, not the woman—πᾶς and ἀπολελυμένην fixing his precept to the case, precisely, which we have now in view. *The man* who marries *a* divorced woman (*any* divorced woman—no reference being had to the *cause* of her state, but to her *state*) commits adultery.

Your difficulties about "inconsistency in the Church" arise out of misconception of her attitude, in so far as they presume her to have "permitted" that which she "ignores," or to have "authorized" that which her minister may be "exposed to ecclesiastical censure" for doing. She has neither permitted nor authorized that which the express letter of Scripture, recording the very words of the Lord Jesus, in set terms forbids. But I would refer you to the expositions of such commentators as Olshausen and Steir (Germans who

strive their utmost to defend the dreadful laxity of their country and communion) for a vindication of the consistency of allowing persons retained in visible communion, in a practice which the Lord's own prohibition makes impossible for those who are spiritually one with Him. They, while claiming allowance for divorce for almost any cause, and, by consequence, for marriage after divorce, for either party, nevertheless distinctly admit that marriage after divorce of any kind is inadmissible for the true believer, and that no member of the invisible Church (as they know it, distinct from the outward, State-established Church) can be guilty of such a violation of the spiritual law which is "the mind of Christ."

These considerations, my dear brother, I submit to you as reasons which may tend to enable you to see the way of duty in that pointed out by the counsels of your ordinary.

Faithfully and affectionately your friend and brother,

W. R. W.

The reverend gentleman, not convinced by the Bishop's argument, and not yielding to his remonstrance, blessed the marriage. Fifteen years later he wrote to the bishop, begging pardon and stating that his judgment had been wholly changed.

TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM.

EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY BY BISHOP BURGESS.

GARDINER, October 30, 1860.

MY DEAR BISHOP:

Your generous and hearty letter has stirred up feelings which I shall not attempt to express. It is not a little thing to receive such commendation from such a source, even in that view in which a book or a sermon is simply regarded with reference to its purpose, and the degree in which that purpose may have been accomplished. But a very different sentiment must respond to your warm readiness to appreciate, and much more than appreciate, every right and Christian feeling which I wish to utter, and, by God's blessing, to infuse into one or another mind, at such a time. I thank you for this, and for the affectionate frankness with which you have hastened to afford me so great a gratification.

Surely, we are not "as strangers in a common work." Most devoutly do I sympathize with your many labors and rejoice in your encouragements, and most deeply do I feel that we have indeed but

one common work before us. On occasional questions of policy we may often differ, as we not seldom agree; and it is incident to persons like both of us that the very reluctance to seem to approve that which we do not in conscience regard as worthy of approbation may make our expressions of opinion appear more abrupt or more set than our judgments really are. I am very sure that, amongst the many hasty things which I have said on various topics, it has not entered my mind to think otherwise than with reverence and confidence and brotherly kindness of the devotion, learning, and faithfulness to the Gospel and to the Church, which were always so manifest in your indefatigable exertions and noble exhortations. These are not times when we ought to be needlessly divided. Would that the kind spirit of your letter, and its charitable appreciation, were but universal amongst us! I am, my dear bishop, very gratefully and sincerely, Your friend and brother,

GEORGE BURGESS.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP WHITTINGHAM.

TO A BEREAVED FRIEND.

PERSONAL SORROW SHOULD NOT PREVENT THE KEEPING CHURCH FESTIVALS.

COLLEGE OF ST. JAMES,
ST. THOMAS'S DAY, 1860.

DEAR S.:

A chance word repeated to me last night has made me very uneasy indeed. I have longed every hour since that I could but see you face to face, to talk with you five minutes, as you allowed me to talk with you when we were last together.

It was "that you said you meant to keep no Christmas this year."

Dear S.! you told me, faithfully and truly I am sure—that you meant to make it your whole study, next after pleasing God, to live and do just as you thought dear J. would have you, if he were by! Now I am sure you cannot pretend to think that he would have you depart, on account of his bodily absence, from the least of all the dear and holy usages of this blessed season! I am sure your heart must tell you that you could do him no greater kindness, nor procure him any truer joy than by trying, for his sake,—just on his account,—by way of "keeping" his dear memory "green," to redouble every token of interest in the glad tidings of great joy of which he now knows, so much better than it is yet our privilege to do, the full,

rich worth—to increase, instead of lessening (or still worse, quite foregoing) your efforts to spread joy and gladness and overflowing loving kindness on all around you, and most of all on those in loving whom you do really show the truth and depth of your love for J.—in whom you love him and he yet loves you here—your children. For his sake, be glad with them here and now, that your common gladness together hereafter may not be blurred and marred by a wrong and unnatural gloom which the flesh may give way to, but which cannot be smiled on by the Father of lights, the God of all comfort, Him in whom your J. still lives for you.

Dear S., lift up your heart to God now at this recurring season of the commemoration of His wondrous love to us, and be comforted and strengthened. Look to Him rightly, and He will enable you to see that it is your duty, for His sake, for the sake of him who is gone before for a little season, and for the sake of your children and the rest of us whom you have yet left to you, not to let this year die out in sullen grief, but so cheerfully to accept the blessed will of God as even to smile to Him through tears, and once more keep the birthday of your Lord, in a high, true sense, as a *merry Christmas*.

Your loving brother, WILLIAM.

END OF VOLUME I.

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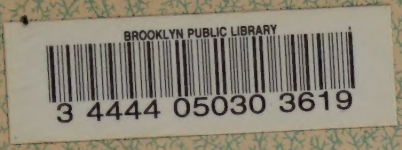

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